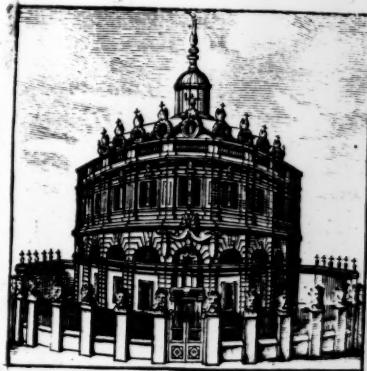


REFLECTIONS
ON THE
HISTORICAL PART
O F
Church-Government,
PART V.

*He, that is first in his own cause, seemeth just;
but his Neighbor cometh and searcheth him.
Prov. 18. 17.*



O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER. Anno 1687.

LOG

1900



The Introduction.

THIS Pamphlet proposes to relate the *English Reformation*, and to examine the lawfulness of it. Now from an Examiner we might justly expect Argument, and from a Relator, Truth. How he argues I find consider'd by the *Animadverter*. Two small defects he has been charg'd with. 1st, That he proceeds upon dubious or false *Premises*; 2ly, That were they granted, his *Conclusions* would not follow. It is my busines to examine his *Narrative*, which yet is not so purely *Historical*, but that it is perplex'd with dispute. For it is peculiar to this Author that when he should *reason*, he barely affirms, as if he was writing an *History*; but when it is his busines to *relate*, being conscious that the stream of *Autority* is against him, he is forc'd to dispute it out as if he was proving a *Problem*. But his *arguing* is such, as the Cause would bear; and his *History* such, as it necessarily requires. The former has gain'd him no great credit with the *Men of Reason*; and this, I doubt, will little recommend him to the *Honest and Ingenuous*. But I forbear to prejudge the cause, and desire nothing may be farther *charg'd* on him, than it is prov'd. I pretend to no Critical skill in the History of the Reformation, and I am beholden to the Author that

I need it not. His prevarications lie so open, that a Novice in History may detect them. Should I give a complete Catalogue of 'em, I should out-swell the bulk of *Church-Government*; but I consider that every one, who desires to know this Author, may not be willing to be charg'd with a *Volume*. I shall therefore confine my self to such only, as are worthy of this Writer, and beyond the aim of a common Under-taker.

A Reply to Chapter the 2^d.

IT might be inquir'd, why this Author dates the *Reformation* from the days of King *Henry*, since the Principal Actors in those times were such, as the Smith-field-Protestants had no reason to think *Reformers*. I might therefore wave the three Chapters, that concern that Reign, were I not by the justness of an Answer oblig'd to my Author's method. But before I enter upon this subject, I would acquaint the Reader once for all, that the glory of these Fables is owing to the Pen of the imitable *Sanders*: Who was so great a Master of Invention, that no *Ingenuous* Author would have condescended to transcribe him. He does not however pay such an implicit deference to the establis'd Character of that great Original, but that he dares refine upon those Strokes, which seem'd incapable of improvement. That he may give us a tast of what we are to expect in the body of his *History*, he entertains us in the first entrance into it with a false and groundless asperion of the Marriage of King *Henry* with *Ann Bullen*. *Sanders* for the deeper blackening of Q. *Elizabeth* tell's his Readers that King

Henry, before his Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, had known her Sister, and her Mother, and that she was his Natural Daughter. This he affirms with an air of Authority, without offer of proof, as became one, who addresst himself to a *Spanish Reader*; but our Author, who could not expect so great a resignation of Reason, presents this Calumny in a better dres, and suborns *Parliaments* and *Popes* to support it. *The King*, he s. 17
faith, *was conscious of some Impediments why he could not lawfully marry her*, for which an *Act of Parliament* 28. Hen. 8. 7. c. never after repeal'd, plainly declar'd her Daughter Elizabeth *uncapable of the Crown*: and of which those words in the *Dispensation* procur'd from Clement the seventh, Etiam illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunque licito vel illico coitu proveniente invicem conjuncta sit, do give some suspicion. If ever *Sander's Title* was endanger'd, this Period shakes it; for certainly never was Assurance so perfect in *Idea* as that of this Author; Who in a knowing age, Protestant Country, and Learned University, to prove that *the King was conscious of some Impediments* very calmly refers us to a Statute, which in expres words saith that *the King knew not of any Impediments*. The Act doth, as any one may see, mention *some Impediments*, for which the Marriage is declar'd unlawful; but withal plainly saith they were

Albeit those Acts [concerning the ratification of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Ann Bolen*] were then made, as it was then thought, by Your Majesty, Nobles, and Commons upon a pure, perfect, and clear foundation, thinking the said Marriage then had between Your Highness, and the said Lady *Ann* in their Conciences to have been pure, sincere, perfect, and good; and so was reput-

ed, accepted, and taken in the Realm till now of late that God hath caus'd to be brought to light certain just, true, and lawful Impediments unknown at the making of the said Acts--- Albeit that Your Majesty *not knowing* of any lawful Impediments entered into the bonds of the said unlawful Marriage &c. 28. Hen. 8. c. 7. Pultons Coll. Lond. 1632.

unknown to the King; and then how could they be such as this Author from this Statute would have us understand? This *Act of illegitimating Elizabeth*, he saith, was never after repeal'd. From which I gather that our Author is much what of the same Opinion, as to Q. Elizabeth's Legitimacy, with his Brother the Author of the late *Test*, tho' it seems he is better bred, than to use his expression. But I cannot think that one, whose Circumstances have made it so much his concern to consult the Statute-book, could be ignorant of the Repeal of this *Act*, and therefore am of Opinion that this Clause was inserted only, that he might throughout observe a *Decorum*, and maintain his Character. Not to mention the 35 of Hen. 8. c. 1. which provides for the Succession of the L. Elizabeth, I desire the Reader to cast his Eye on the Margin, where he will find the *Act of Illegitimacy* repeal'd in Expressions so full and vigorous, that it is hard to imagine what could tempt our Author to so extravagant an Assertion, but the ambition of exceeding all Examples. But the citing of an *Act*, which, when consulted, proves the contradictory of that for which it was refer'd to; and the denying the Repeal of a Statute, which is abrogated in as plain words as possible, do not furnish Matter enough for a

There is nothing, which We Your Subjects for our parties can, may, or ought more firmly, entirely, and assuredly, in the purity of our hearts think, or with our mouths declare and confess, to be true, then that Your Majestie our Sovereign Lady is, and in very deed, and of most meet right ought to be, by the Laws of God, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm our most rightful and lawful Sovereign, Liege, Lady, and Queen: and that Your Majestie is rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended, and come of the blood Royal of this Kingdom, in and to whose Princely person without all doubt ambiguity, scruple, or question, the Imperial Estate of this Realm is invested &c --

For which Causes we Your said Subjects as thereunto constrain'd by the Laws of God and Man can no less do then humbly beseech Your Majestie that it be enacted &c. ---

And that all Sentences, Judgments, and Decrees had, made, declared, set forth, published, and promulgated: and also as much of every Clause, Article, Branch, Matter, or thing contained or express'd in any *Act* or *Acts* of Parliament, as be in any thing repugnant, contrary, or derogatorie to this our said Declaration &c. shall be utterly frustrate, void, and of none effect, and also shall and may be cancel'd, defac'd, and put in perpetual Oblivion &c. --- 1st. Eliz. c. 3.

Parenthesis with this Author. To close it therefore a passage is cited from a Dispensation, which he has procur'd from *Clement* the seventh. Since he urges us with this Dispensation, it is to be hop'd that he esteems it genuine. If so, we have met with a Bull, wherein the Marriage betwixt King *Henry* and *Katherine* is declar'd null and invalid. But he, who in this Paragraph cites a passage from Pope *Clement's* Bull of Divorce, will, in the next Paragraph but one, shew us that the Pope was^{§. 19.} not singular in his Judgment, when he refus'd to grant such a Bull. It is indeed certain that the Pope was both *for* and *against* the Divorce according as different Interests inclin'd him; but this is a truth, which it ill becomes a *Roman-Catholic* to confess. All Histories agree that a Bull was brought over by Cardinal *Campagio*; but that this, which our Author refers to, could be the Copy of that or of any other Bull is absurd to imagine. For tho' false Latin and incoherence are perhaps no arguments of it's being spurious, yet there is in it one Blunder, which I dare not think his Holiness could be guilty of. The Pope after he has declar'd the Marriage of King *Henry* with *Catharine*, as being his Brother's Relict, null, gives the King license to contract *cum quacunque alia muliere, modo ne sit Relicta dicti Fratris tui*, i. e. with any other Woman provided it be not the same Woman; Which one, who had not an aversion to a quibble, would call a *Bull* of his Holiness's. As for the Clause of Dispensation here cited, *Luther* in all his fallies has not miscall'd that Prince, if he was so fatally stupid, as that when he pretended scruples of Conscience for having married the Relict of his deceas'd Brother, he could at the same time desire the

^a See the Bull in *Anti-Sanderus*, or in p. 279. Lond. Edit. A. 1683.
Lord Herbert's Hist. of King Hen. 8th.

Pope to dispence with his Marrying within the same degree of Affinity. The whole *series* of the original Instructions, Messages, and Letters, which past between *Rome* and *England* on that Occasion, are all extant, in which there is not the least mention of a matter of so grand importance. We have also the ¹ Decretal Bull, which was desir'd in favour of the King and drawn up in *England* to be subscrib'd at *Rome*, which yet contains not any such Dispensation. But I need not infist any longer in proving this *Bull* to be inauthentical, since I am certain it is more this Author's Interest than ours, that it should be so. I doubt not but the Reader is satisfied from this one *specimen*, wherein he finds so much falsehood crowded up into so little room, what esteem he ought to have of this Writer's Integrity.

Cardinal Wolsey when he discover'd the King's affections settled on Ann Bullen, one inclin'd to Lutheranism, he proves averse now to what he had formerly advanc'd, and delays the decision of the Divorce so long, till at last the Pope revok'd the Cause &c. I confess there is other Authority for this besides *Sanders*, higher than whom this Author seldom rises. But Dr. *Burnet*, whom the Author, or at least the *Editor* ought in justice to have consulted, has made it appear from undoubted Records that this is a Mistake. ² The joyn't thanks of the King and *Ann Bullen* to the Cardinal for his diligence and industry in their behalf ; the ³ tears and supplications of Dr. *Bennet* the Cardinal's Agent to the Pope, that He would not avocate the caule, but leave it in the hands of the Legates ; and the ⁴ Apologetic Letter of the Pope to *Wolsey*, wherein he excuses himself for having avo-

^a In Dr. Burnet's Collections. Vol. Ist.
Lond. 1679.

^b Burnet's Hist. of Ref. Vol. I. Coll. p. 31.

^c Burn. V. 1. p. 55.
^d Burn. V. 1. Coll. p. 80.
^e Ibid. p. 81.

cated it, and thereby griev'd the *Cardinal*, stand upon Record to the contradiction of this dream of *Sanders*, and to the shame of those, who, after these Authentic Registers are publish'd to the world, go on without remorse to transcribe that hardy Writer.

It is said that some others of the chief of the English Clergy, whether it were conscientiously, or out of the same disaffection of their's to Ann Bullen, I cannot tell, much dislik'd the Divorce. It is said, that is, by *Sanders*, whom our Author faithfully translates. *That some others dislik'd the divorce.* i. e. besides *Wolsey*, who did not at all dislike it. *Of the chief of the English Clergy.* The Bishops use to be esteem'd the chief of the Clergy; but we are assur'd from the Autority of all our Historians, that all the Bishops did under their Hands and Seals declare the Marriage unlawful, except *Fisher*, who doth not amount to our Author's *some others*. *Whether it were out of Conscience, or out of the same disaffection of their's to Ann Bullen, I cannot tell.* How awkward this Author is, when he would seem to be impartial? Had they dislik'd the Divorce, He ought in Charity to have judg'd it was *out of Conscience*; if their disaffection to *A. Bullen* was the *same* with the *Cardinal's*, we have found it was *none* at all.

After the fall of Wolley, a Bill was given up in the Parliament held 1530 (and the sum demanded from the Clergy as conspiring with the Cardinal) of an 100000^l charges that the King had been put to, to obtain so many Instruments from Forreign Universities, which had decided this Matter. Here indeed *Sanders* fail'd our Historian, and therefore this was supplied from Dr. *Baylie*, a fabulous Writer, who affects too much the *i. d. G.* of Oratory to be a slave to truth. The Book being not in all hands, the Reader will excuse me if for his Diversification,

on, and to shew him what Authors this Writer of *Church-Government* builds upon, I entertain him in the Margin with the Prologue and Epilogue of that Comedy which the Author of it call's, *The Life and Death of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*: When He has read it, he will excuse me, if I decline the trouble of so much as considering what relies upon the sole Autority of that raving Legendarie.

From which Universities the King is said to have procur'd their suffrages for his Divorce not without seeing several of them with great Summs of Money. Concerning which see the Testimonies of several Authors produc'd by Sanders, (p. 49. &c.) some of those he quotes saying that they had Money offer'd to themselves; some that they were Eye witnesses of it receiv'd by others.
I once indeed thought that Sanders was the most impudent and shameless Writer, which ever pretended to

a He begins his Legend thus. "At the time when as the Stars of Heaven frown'd upon the Nation to behold Innocence swaying the Scepter of this Land so misbecomingly, in the seven and thirtieth Year of the Reign of the most Noble (though unfortunate) King Henry the sixth, and in the Year one thousand, four hundred, fifty and nine after the time that a Virgin Daughter had produced her Father, and a Creature her Creator, (when the blessed Vine sprang from the same Grape it bare, and the root of Jesse shot from the Spring) the Divine Providence brought forth under succour, whose after growth made it soon known to the world how worthily he received the 2 Names (which both his Christendom and his Parents bestow'd upon him within the Collegiate Church and Town of Beverly scituate within the Province of York, about eight score miles distant Northwards from the Head-City of the Nation, viz. of John and FISHER. He goes on to compare him with John the Baptist not without Ob. and Sol. One of his Comparisons is, that the First died for saying to King Herod,

it is not lawful for thee to take thy Brother's Wife. The second for saying to King Henry it is not lawful for thee to put away thy Brother's Wife. Having shew'd how he erredly the name of JOHN was bestow'd upon the Subject of his History, he next shews that he deserv'd also to be call'd F SHER being indeed (as indeed he was) a true FISHER of men. *Some may suffice to give the Reader a just Idea of this Author's Intellectuals. The Conclusion shew's how servilely he employ'd them in flattering the Usurper Cromwel, whom that party hop'd to make a Proselyte. "Oliv-a vera is not so hard to be construed Oli-verus, as that it may not be believ'd that a Prophet rather than an Herald gave the common Father of Chriftendom the now Pope of Rome (Innocent the tenth) such Ensigns of his Nobility (viz. a Dove holding an Olive-branch in her Mouth) since it falls short in nothing of both being a Propheſie, and fulfilled, but only his Highness running into her Arms, whose Emblem of Innocence bears him already in her Mouth. Life and Death of J. Fisher. Lond. 1655.*

History ; But am now afraid, having seen those Forgeries, for which that Author has been so deeply stigmatiz'd, brought upon the Stage again, some may be apt to think there is *one Person* in the World who has a fairer title to that Character, than He. For as if *Sanders* had not enough of imposture, even his Testimony is by this Writer corrupted. *Some of those saying they had Moneys offer'd to themselves.* But the *Some*, the *they*, and the *themselves* do with *Sanders* amount only to one, and he no other then *Cochlaeus*. Nor was Money offer'd to him for his suffrage, as it is here represented, but on condition He would write a book in Defence of the King's cause, or give himself the trouble of collecting the Sentences of the *German* Universities in favour of it. So that, were *Cochlaeus* a Person of credit, and we oblig'd to believe him, this would be capable of a fair Interpretation, and the Money might justly be presum'd offer'd not as a *Bribe*, but a *Reward*. *Some that they were Eye-witnesses of it receiv'd by Others.* But the *some*, and the *Eye-witnesses* are again but one unknown Bishop of *Brasile*. As for this Calumny of *Sanders* concerning the buying of Subscriptions, the Reader will find a full Confutation of it in Dr. *Burnet*, who amongst other undoubted Evidences of the falsehood of this Scandal, has given us the Original Letters of the King's Agents, wherein with the greatest earnestness imaginable they labour to satisfie the King, that his Instructions not to corrupt Subscribers had been religiously observ'd.

Tho' with your leave to make a little digression concerning this Controversie, these Universities, at least some of them, consider'd only the point of the unlawfulness of one Marrying his Brother's Wife, when such

Marriage was consummate by carnal knowing her, Without considering that Circumstance whether Catherine was carnally known by her first Husband. It is only his Modesty to call this a *Digression*, for it is as much to his purpose, as that which goes before, or follows after. It is true that some of the forreign Universities do mention the Consummation; But they put no other Terms in their *Answer* then was propos'd to them in the *Question*; so that this is no Argument that their Sentence did not reach the King's case, but that the Consummation by *Arthur* was not then doubted of, since the Question was propos'd by the King's Agents indifferently; sometimes *with*, sometimes *without* that Limitation. It is therefore an impertinent Observation which is here made of their not considering whether *Catherine* was carnally known or not by her first Husband, since they were desir'd only to answer a speculative Question, not to judge of a matter of fact.

Prince Arthur being thought some-what infirm and being but fifteen years old when he Married her, and dying shortly after. In Latin thus, ^b *Eo quod Arthurus decimum quintum ætatis annum vix dum attingens, ex lento præterea morbo laboraret, cuius tabe post quintum mensem confectus ex hac vita migravit.* So the 2 Deponents, *Sanders*, and this Author. But the Witnesses examin'd upon Oath before the Legats depos'd that Pr. *Arthur* was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage, of a good and Sanguine Complexion, vigorous, and robust, that he bedded with his Princess every Night, and that the decay of which he died was imputed to his excesses in the Bed.

^a See these Censures of the Universities Bur. V. I. Coll. p. 89.

^b Sand. de Sch. p. 2. Edit. Colon. 1628.

^c See the Depositions taken from the Original Records, Herbert. p. 270.

You may see if you have the curiosity what is said for the consummation of that Marriage in Fox, against it in Sanders. Not to indulge our curiosity too far, it may with modesty be affirm'd, that the *forsan cognitam* in the ^a Bull and the *cognitam* without *forsan* in the Breve, (and these words not put into the body of either, as a Clause to make the Dispensation more large, but in the Preamble as part of the matter of Fact represented to the Pope) the ^b not giving Prince Henry the title of Prince of Wales for half an Year after *Arthur's* death, the ^c Solemn benediction of the Nuptial Bed, the ^d Depositions of so many honourable Witnesses of their being constantly bedded together, the ^e proofs taken by the Spanish Embassadors of the consummation of the Marriage; and the ^f Expressions of Prince *Arthur* to his Servants which implied the same, are greater Arguments for the Affirmative, than any thing which is by *Sanders*, or can be by this Author, advanc'd for the Negative.

Tho' the former Marriage had been consummate many Learned Men of that Age of several Nations (amongst whom were Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Tonstal Bishop of Duresme) whom you may find diligently reckon'd up to the Number of almost Twenty by Sanders, wrote books in Justification that the Marriage of Henry with Catherine was a matter dispensable. It has been already said that all the Bishops except *Fisher* had given it under their Hands and Seals that the King's Marriage was unlawful. In all the Memorials of those times, *Fisher* is the only Bishop we find mention'd to have wrote for it. If *Tonstal* wrote for it, yet

^a See the Bull, and Breve in Lord Herbert. p. 264.

^b Bur. V. I. p. 35.

^c Lord Herbert. p. 270.

^d Ibid.

^e Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 1071 Edit. Lond. 1582.

^f Lord Herbert. p. 271.

[12]

the Bishop of *Duresme* did not; For *Tonstal's* book according to *Sanders*, who is this Man's Author, was given in to the Legates, and *Tonstal* then was Bishop of *London*. ^b Being afterwards made Bishop of *Duresme* he was sent with others to perswade *Katherine* to acquiesce in the Divorce; he us'd several Arguments to convince her of the justice of it; She urging his former Opinion in favour of her cause, he replied that he had only pleaded for the amplitude and fulness of the Bull; but that the Consummation of the former Marriage had now been judicially prov'd, the second Marriage declar'd by the Sentences of the Universities incestuous and contrary to the Law of God, and therefore by the Pope's Bull, however ample, indispensابل. Which is a Demonstration against what this Author asserts that *Tonstal* was one who justified the second Marriage, tho' the former had been *Consummate*. *Sanders* his diligence in reckoning up those who wrote for the Queen's cause, we do not question, but we much doubt his *Veracity*. It requir'd an extraordinary *diligence* to find a book written by a ^c Bishop of *Bristol* 13 Years before ever there was such a Bishoprick. But should we grant *Sanders's* full tale of almost twenty these are neither to be compar'd in Number, nor Authority with those, who wrote against it: An ^d hundred books were shewn in Parliament written for the Divorce by Divines and Lawyers beyond Sea, besides the Determinations of twelve the most celebrated Universities of *Europe*. To which might have been added the ^e Testimonies of the *Greek*, and *Latin* Fathers, the Opinions of the Scool-men, the Autority of the

^a Sand. p. 42.

^b Lord Herbert. p. 402.

^c Sand. p. 53.

^d Burn. Hist. V. I. p. 106.

^e See the Abstract of what was written for the Divorce Burn. V. I. p. 97.

Infallible Pope, who in our Author's Introduction granted a Bull of Divorce, and the Sentence of one more Infallible than He, the Author of the Pentateuch.

This was agreed on all sides, that Papa non habet potestatem dispensandi in impedimentis jure divino naturali conjugium dirimentibus, sed in iis quæ jure Canonicō tantum dirimunt. This was not so Universally agreed as our Author would perswade us, for thoſe, ^b who wrote for the Queen's Cause, pleaded that the Pope's power of dispensing did reach farther then to the Laws of the Church, even to the Laws of God, for he dayly dispensed with the breaking of Oaths and Vows thoſe that was exprefly contrary to the ^c second Commandment. And when the Question was debated in the Convocation, One ^d voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet Dispensable.

Others gather'd the Law in Levit. 18. 16. dispensable in ſome caſes from the exprefſe Dispensation made therein Deut. 25. 5. But on the other ſide it was then anſwer'd that the Provision about marrying the Brother's Wife only proves the ground of the Law is not in it's own Nature immutable, but may be dispensed with by God in ſome caſes; but because Moses did it by divine Revelation, it does not follow that the Pope can do it by his Ordinary Autority.

For the general Judgment of the Learned, and particu- larly for the Universities, after you have read the Story in Sanders concerning them, and especially concerning Oxford, as likewife what is ſaid by Lord Herbert, See what the Act of Parliament 1^o Mariae ſaith of them. What the general judgment of the Learned was, has been in-

^a Lev. 18. 16. and c. 20. 21.

^b Burn. Hist. Vol. I. p. 103.

^c With us the third.

^d Id. ibid. p. 129.

^e Ibid. p. 105.

timated already; What were the Sentiments of the Universities, will best be learnt from their solemn Determinations; After I have read the Story in Sanders concerning them and especially concerning Oxford, I am very well satisfied that I have been abus'd; and that the rather when I see what is said by Lord Herbert^a, who on purpose publishes an Original Instrument to confute the lie of Sanders who had call'd the Resolution of our Universities in a fort surreptitious. As for the *Act of Queen Mary*, it was the *Act of a Queen in her own cause*, and the 25 Hen. 8. 22. c. is as great a proof of the Lawfulness of the Divorce, as this is of the Unlawfulness of it. What censures were past upon this *Act*, when made, may be seen in ^bDr. Burnet.

The *Act* mentioning certain bare and untrue conjectures upon which *Archbishop Cranmer founded his sentence of Divorce*, This Author will have these relate to the consummation of the Marriage of *Katherine with Arthur*. But this is but a bare conjecture of his, and very probably untrue. For *Cranmer thinking the Marriage of a Brother's Wife unlawful, and the Essence of all Marriage to consist not in the carnalis copula, but in the conjugal pact, might upon these Principles conclude the Marriage with Henry unlawful, tho' that with Arthur had been prov'd not consummate, and therefore need not build on any conjectures concerning the Conflumination*. Tho' had he founded his judgment upon that supposition, It, if I may so speak with due reverence to an *Act of Parliament*, was neither a bare conjecture, nor untrue.

As for the *Hesitancy of the German-Protestant Divines to declare the Divorce lawful*. I cannot conceive why

^a Lord Herbert. p. 352.

^b Burn. Hist. V. 2. p. 254.

See the Abstract of the grounds of the Divorce Burn. V. I. Coll. p. 95.

it is urg'd by this Author who certainly doth not prefer the Judgment of these *Protestant*-Doctors to the contrary Determination of the *Roman-Catholic* Universities. It has been observ'd upon this Author's writings that he is no great Friend of either Communion, of which We have here a very good Confirmation; when to prove the illegality of K. Henry's Divorce, he declines the Autority of the *Roman-Catholic* Universities, as Mercenary, and appeals to the *German* Divines, whom he will have to be of his Opinion. Now what can be a greater blemish to the *Roman* Communion, then that those great Bodies, which may justly be suppos'd it's greatest Strength, should so cheaply barter away their Consciences? Or what more Honourable testimony given to the Leaders of the Reformation, then that their judgment should be appeal'd to in an instance which makes it appear that their Integrity could not be so far sway'd by the prospect of a common reform'd Interest, as their Adversaries are said to have been by the scandalous temptations of a Bribe? But this is not a single instance how much more he regards his *Hypothesis*, then the honour of his Communion. Thus below, to prove that King Edward's §. 122. Reformation was not Universal, he accuses those Clergy, that did comply, of Hypocrify; and to shew there were some non-complyers, he instances in the frequent Rebellions of the *Romanists* which he faith would not have been, had they not been justified to them by the Clergy. The most bitter Adversary to the Church of *Rome* would wish her such Advocates.

I have made this Digression to shew you the diversity of Opinions, which was in this difficult Matter (that you may see the Pope stood not alone in his judgment) and how the several Interests of several times justified and con-

damn'd the same thing. I am very well convinc'd, tho' not from our Author's proof, that the Pope stood not alone in his judgment. For certainly He that holds both sides of a Contradiction cannot be singular in his Opinion. The Pope judg'd for the Divorce in the 17th Paragraph, when the Dispensation was procur'd from him; but here in the 19th he judges against it. But our Author mistakes that Pope's Character, when he represents him as passing Sentence according to the merits of the Cause, it being certain that in this whole procedure He acted by no other Principles, than his Passions or Interest. And therefore this Author observes a greater *Decorum* when, telling us in the same Page, that the King had now no hopes of obtaining a Divorce from the Pope; he does not pretend the Reason to have been because the Pope was convinc'd of the Unlawfulness of it, *but because at the same time he stood much in awe of the Emperor victorious in Italy, and a near Kinsman and Favourer of Queen Katherine.* He needed not therefore to have instanc'd in the different Opinions of diverse Men, since the actings of the Pope alone would sufficiently have convinc'd us that *the several Interests of several times justified and condemned the same thing.*

Now to return to our Matter in hand. So that it seems he has digress'd for 2 Pages to no other purpose then to shew that his Paratheses are of the same Stamp with his Parentheses.

The aforesaid Summ of 100000^l spent upon the Universities abroad &c: This is again a transcript from Dr. Bailie, and I need say no worse of it.

S. 20. *The King, he saith, excepted at the Limitation of [Quantum per legem Christi licet] in the Title given him by the Clergy, and so at last upon renew'd threats this Clause also*

was procur'd to be omitted. See Antiquit. Britannic. The Author knew, or might have known, that the Author of the *Antiquities* was in this mistaken. For Dr. Burnet has upon this passage in A.Bp. Parker observ'd, that King Henry, when the Province of York demurr'd upon granting the King the Title of Head, as improper, in his Answser to them urges that Words are not always understood in the strictest Sense, and mentions the Explanation made in the Province of Canterbury, that it was *in so far as is agreeable with the Law of Christ*, Accordingly it is represented as pass'd with this Qualification by our other ^b Historians.

He refers us again to Dr. Bailie. But the Reader, I presume, has had enough of him already.

The excluding the Patriarch is, he saith, *contrary to his 4th Thesis.* It is pity these *Theses* were not written in the last Century for the Use of those *Roman-Catholics* who excluded the Pope. They could find no grounds for the Papal Autority from Scripture, Antiquity, or Reason; but they might perhaps have been convinc'd from our Author's *Theses*, which are an Authority distinct to all those.

This Paragraph concludes with the mangled Citation from Dr. Hammond which has already been *animadverted* on, and is a sore which if I do not here again touch upon, it is because I would not gall him too much.

Cranmer is said to have divorc'd the King from Q. Katherine after he had excluded the Pope's Autority out of his Dominions. The Divorce was pronounc'd in May 1533, and the Extinguishing Act did not pass till March following: Cranmer in the Sentence is call'd *Legate of the*

^a Hist. V. 1. p. 112. from the Cabala Book 5. p. 131. Dr. Heylin Ref. Justif. § 2.
p 244. ^c Burn. V. 1. p. 131. compard with

^b Herbert p. 348. Full. Eccl. Hist. p. 144.

Apostolic See. By this Instance it is plain how implicitly our Author follows *Sanders* in his Chronology, as well as History.

Warham a favourer of the Queen's cause; ^b Varamus qui summo studio Reginæ partes adjuverat, saith *Sanders*. This favourer of the Queen's Caufe when the Marriage was first propos'd, ^c declar'd it was contrary to the Law of God; He induc'd ^d the Prince when of Age to enter his Protestation against it; ^e He subscrib'd and perswaded the other Bishops to subscribe to the unlawfulness of it; He earnestly prest *Fisher* to concurr, and upon Refusal made another set that Bishop's Name and Seal to the Resolution of the other Bishops. These are some of the favours, which *Warham* shew'd to the Queen's Cause.

i. 23. *The Clergy having declar'd the King Supreme Head of the Church, it seem'd reasonable that no Acts of the Church should stand good without the concurrence of the Head.* This is a wild and senseless Calumny; the C. of England thinks no Acts which are purely Spiritual want the King's concurrence; her Sacraments and her Censures she esteemt valid independently on all humane Autority; her Charter she derives immediately from Christ. The Clergy did indeed bind themselves not to promulge and execute any Canons without the King's leave; but the execution, of which they abridg themselves, is such as hath influence on the Civil Rights of the Subject, and therefore necessarily requir'd the concurrence of the Supreme Civil power.

He cites from Dr. *Heylin* an Answer made by *Gardiner* (and allow'd by the Convocation) to a Parliamen-

^a Sand. p. 73.

^b Sand. p. 55.

^c Burn. V. I. p. 35.

^d Ibid. p. 26.

^e Hen. the 8th.

^f Ibid. p. 38.

tary Remonstrance. But either my Edition of Heylin, or (which I am the rather apt to think from the infidelity of his other citations) this Author deceives me.

The next Paragraph descants upon the request of the §. 24. Clergy that the Laws Ecclesiastical might be review'd by 32 Commissioners. This he complains was never sufficiently weigh'd by Dr. Heylin, Dr. Hammond, nor Dr. Fern. The busines of those Advocates was to defend the Reformation, and it is one of our Author's pertinent remarks, that they did not meddle with what was not reform'd. The Reformation of the Canons was a design, of which Nothing worse can be said, than that it did not take effect. If it trouble him that Canons contrary to the King's Prerogative, Laws of the Land, good of the Subject, and Laws of God should be reform'd, no Honest man can pity him. If he quarrels with the competency of the Reviewers, that has been spoke to by the Animadverter. If by Canons Synodal he will understand the Constitutions of any other Synods but those of this Nation, it is out of his wonted pride to outface the Statutes. For the Act expressly limits the Review to those Canons which had been enacted by English Synods, and had no need to meddle with any other, since We never did own the Autority of any but what were so establish'd.

I need not speak any thing to the 25th Paragraph, because what is said there, is unsaid in the 26th. But our Author has a Supposal here which may deserve a Remark. He supposes that Gardiner retracted his acknowledgment of a Regal Supremacy for this reason, because by sad experience he saw it much enlarrg'd beyond those bounds within which only they formerly had maintain'd it just. But else-where this §. 46.

^a Reform. Just. in the Historical Tracts Edit. Lond. 1681.

^b Animadv. p. 36.

^c Forasmuch as such Canons, Constitutions, and ordinances as heretofore

have been made by the Clergy of this Realm, cannot now be view'd, examin'd, and determin'd by the King's Highness, and the 32 Persons according to the Petition of the Clergy -- 25 Hen. 8. 19. c.

same Author will suppose that *Gardiner* was enfnard in King Edward's time by *that* Sense of Supremacy, of which he had been a Zealous abettor in King Henry's; and this Sense, which *Gardiner* had of King Henry's Supremacy, in another Paragraph is said to have been *gross and impure*, and to have extended the King's power even to the Alteration of Faith and Doctrines; beyond which bounds I would learn of this Author how it could be enlarg'd. In this methinks he is something *Autocatacritical*.

If it can be worth our while to look back upon what has been perform'd in this Chapter, We shall find that Nothing farther has been advanc'd, than that the Clergy gave King Henry the Title of *Supreme*, promis'd to enact no new Canons without the King's Assent, and requested that the Old ones might be Reform'd. The rest of his Discourse is only flourish, which our Author made Use of that he might have the greater scope for his Invention. All that is material in 7 Leaves might have been compriz'd in fewer Words, and this would have heightned our Esteem of the Author, tho' it might have deprest the price of the Pamphlet.

A Reply to his 3^d Chapter.

5. 26. **W**E are come now to our Author's Second Head; the Supremacy of King Henry is still the Topic, i. e. He is still writing against his Forefathers the *Roman-Catholics*. The Extent of this Supremacy he takes from Acts of Parliament; Repeal'd, and not Repeal'd make no difference with him. All the Expressions, which seem to extend the Supremacy, are invidiously rak'd together; and those, which limit it, craftily supprest. The Statutes are put upon the rack, and because

the Text doth not speak plain enough, our Author has added his *Gloss*.

He tells us that *the Clergy having given the King the Title of Supreme, the Parliament vested in him all Jurisdiction to the said Dignity belonging.* The Parliament gave the King no *New Jurisdiction*, but restor'd the *Old*; nor did they place in him any Power but what was recognized by the Clergy, who certainly did not delude the King with the Complement of an empty Title. The extent of this Jurisdiction annex'd to the Crown He will have us learn from the *1st of Q. Elizabeth*; but it seems more proper to learn it from the words of the same Statute of King Henry. His Comments upon the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, here ascrib'd to the Prince, might have been spar'd, if he had attended to an easie distinction frequently met with in our Writers. They divide Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction into *Internal*, the inward Government which is in the Court of Conscience; or *External*, that which is practis'd in exterior Courts; *That* proceeds by Spiritual Censures; *this* by force and corporal Punishments; *That* is appropriated to the Clergy, and incomunicable to the Secular power; *this* is originally inherent in the Civil Supreme, and from him deriv'd to Ecclesiastic Governours. *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* when said to be annex'd to the Crown ought to be understood in the latter Sense. This also answers what is here cited from the *Reformatio Legum*, tho' what is urg'd thence needs no Reply, that Book having never been ratified by any Autoritative Act of our Church.

In Virtue of this Jurisdiction translated to the King by §. 28. another Act of Parliament 25. Hen. 8. 21. c. the Supreme power of giving all manner of Licenses, Dispensations, Faculties &c. For all Laws and Constitutions merely Ecclesiastical, and in all Causes, not being contrary to the Scriptures, and

Laws of God, is not only taken from the Pope, but the Clergy too. Nothing is done in that Act by Virtue of any new Jurisdiction translated to the King, but by this power originally inherent in the Sovereign. Every Government has a right to dispence with it's own Acts, and nothing farther is challeng'd in that Statute. No Ecclesiastical Constitutions had ever the force of Laws in this Kingdom, but from the Legislative power of the Realm: and the same power, which gave them life, might dispense with them. This the *Act* faith is evident not only from the wholesome Acts made in King *Henry's* Reign, but from those made in the time of his Noble Progenitors. It was not therefore a power now first attributed to the Prince, but his Ancient Right, for some Years indeed usurp'd by the Pope, but now vindicated. This is the true import of that Statute, which when it is fairly represented is at the same time justified. The power of granting Licences is indeed taken from the *Pope*, to whom it never rightly belonged; but not from the *Clergy*, it being expressly provided in the Act, that all Licenses be granted by the *Arch-Bishop, or 2 Spiritual Persons*. In case of the Arch-Bishop's refusal, the Court of Chancery is to judge whether such refusal be out of Contumacy; which power of the Chancery if it be contrary to our Author's 8th Thesis, it ought the rather to be excus'd since the ^a *Animadverter* has observ'd that that Thesis is contrary to it self. His Notion of the Parliament's coordinacy, with the King in the Supremacy I leave to the Censure of the Learned in the Law; this Act I am sure whence he infers it, positively afflerts the King to be Supreme.

29. By Virtue of the same Supremacy translated to the King, the necessity of the Metropolitan's being confirm'd by the Patriarch is taken away. The Statute whence he collects this mentions neither *Metropolitan* nor *Patriarch*. It enacts indeed

deed that no Person of this Realm shall be presented to the Bishop of *Rome*, otherwise cal'd the *Pope*, to or for the office of Bishop or Arch-Bishop of this Realm. But the Arch-Bishops of this Realm are such *Metropolitans* as owe no Subjection to any *Patriarch*, and therefore have no necessity of being confirm'd by him. Nor doth the Statute take away any such Necessity, for it supposes none. The King's Presentation to a Bishoprick, against which he is so warm, was no new Usurpation, but an ancient Right: had he liv'd some Centuries before the Reformation, he would have had this Grievance to complain of.

The 2 next Paragraphs he tells us he had set down before, and I see no reaſon why they are repeated, but for the Reader's mortification. The 32^d Paragraph is that which has got the particle *as* in it. The *said Arch-Bishop*, when no Arch-Bishop had been mention'd before is another of our Author's *Idioms* in the same Period. The Act here descanted upon, expir'd with King *Henry*, and it will be time enough to consider it, when it is reviv'd again. If Prohibition of appeals to Rome, and making the King the last *Appellee* be an Act of the Reformation, it has been prov'd that King *Henry* the 2^d, and all his Bishops (except *Becket*) were Reformers.

Some Acts of Parliament are cited in the 34th Paragraph which were repeal'd by King *Edward*, and yet make up part of that accumulative charge which is laid on the Reformation. Even the *Six Articles* are urg'd, which drain'd the blood of so many Reformers. But the *Protestants in justifying the King's Supremacy must allow their own Condemnation if teaching any thing contrary to the six Articles &c.* That is, all those who own an Authority, must justify the abuse of it; They who obey the just

^a See the Animadv. p. 65.

Commands of their Prince, must obey him when he commands what is *unjust*. Father *Walsh* acknowledges, I suppose, the *Pope's Supremacy*; but he thinks himself severally dealt with, when he is censur'd for not being a Rebel.

Having quoted several Acts he comes to reflect upon them *a little*, viz. for six Pages. First he copes with Arch Bishop *Bramhall*, but I should be unjust to that Prelate's memory, if in so unequal an engagement I should think he wanted my Aflistance. What is *said* by the Bishop is not *said* only, but *demonstrated*. This Author has urg'd nothing against him, but what he might have fetch'd from the Bishop's own Confutation of *Serjeant*. The Question here discust has already been debated in the *Animadversions*, and, if the Reader desires to be farther satisfied, I cannot more oblige him then by sending him to the Most Reverend and Learned Author. He will find there a just and solid Vindication of a Noble Cause, which suffers when it falls into weak management, and is made part of an Occasional Pamphlet. Having catechiz'd the Bishop he next canvasth that *Statute of much concernment, that the King shall have power from time to time to Visit, Repress, and Reform all such Errors, and Heresies as by any manner of Spiritual Authority lawfully may be Reform'd*. But this Act will be without the reach of our Author's cavils if it be observ'd; That the Power, by which the King Visits and Reforms, is not *Spiritual*, but *Political*; That a Power is not given him to *declare* Errors, but to *repress* them; that the determination of Heresie is by Act of Parliament limited to the Autority of Scriptures, first General Councils, and assent of the Clergy in their Convocation; that the King hath not all the Power given him which by any manner of Spiritual Autority may be lawfully exercis'd, (for he has not the power of the Keys)

Keys) but a power given him to reform all Heresies by Civil Authority, which the Church can do by her Spiritual; That it is impossible it should be prov'd that this power of Visiting and Reforming is a necessary Invasion of the Office of Spiritual Pastors, because when the Prince doth it by them, commanding them to do the Work, and exacting of them a discharge of their duty, He doth this without Usurping their Office, and yet doth it by a power, distinct from, and independent on their's: And lastly, that the Prince is oblig'd to take care that all Acts of reforming be executed by their proper Ministers, because else he transgresses the Power prescrib'd in this Statute, *so to reform Errors as may be most to the pleasure of Almighty God.* The Application is obvious, and will satisfie the Reader that our Author must part with a whole Paragraph, if He will, as he pretends, *remove the Mis-interpretation of this Act.*

S. 35.
n. 4.

The next Paragraph makes remarks upon a Proclamation, and speech of King Henry's, and some words of Cromwel; which were very justifiable, if it were either necessary that we must defend them, or the Defence not obvious to every one who thinks. His Conclusion of this Chapter amounts to no more then that Bishop Gardiner was too great a Courtier, and Calvin too credulous; One was gross in his sense of the Supremacy, and the other zealous against it so misrepresented. Which will then begin to be pertinent, when it is prov'd that Gardiner was a Protestant, and Calvin a son of the Church of England. There is so little in this Chapter which affects the Reformation, that it cannot be worth recapitulating.

A Reply to Chapter the 4th

38.

NO W he comes to the times of Edward the 6th. Now then he first begins to remember the Title of his Book. Here he finds all the Supremacy confirm'd to Edward the Sixth, which was formerly conceded to Henry the 8th. And yet the Reformers are accus'd of Innovation, for continuing what they found establish'd by Roman-Catholics, he complains of the Repeal of several Statutes made in confirmation of the Determinations of the Church. But by the Church is meant the Church of Rome, and it is no great Crime in a Reforming Prince that he did not think himself oblig'd to punish with Death all her Determinations. These Statutes now repeal'd were reviv'd by Q. Mary, and again repeal'd by Q. Elizabeth. Which amounts to no more then that Q. Mary was a Roman-Catholic, and Q. Elizabeth a Catholic Reformed. Hence he infers by way of Corollary, that the trial of Heresies and Heretics by the Clergy according to the Determinations and Laws of Holy-Church was admitted or excluded here, according as the Prince was Catholic or Reform'd. This sentence, carries two faces, and is capable of two very different Constructions. Either it may signifie that the Clergy were, or were not the tryers of Heretics, according as the Prince was Romanist or Reformed, and then it is false; Or that the Determinations of Holy Church (You must understand the C. of Rome) were or were not the Rule of such Trials, according as the Prince was of the Roman or Reform'd Communion, and then it is wonderfully impertinent.

4c.

This seeker goes on, and finds it affirm'd in an Act of Parliament, that All Jurisdiction Spiritual and Temporal is deriv'd from the King as Supreme Head of the Church and Realm.

[27]

Realm of England. But if he had pleas'd He might have found too, that this Act is repeal'd, and that therefore we are under no Obligation to defend it. But if Jurisdiction be understood in the limited sence before explain'd, this Act has no poison in it. And so it will be understood by any one, who consults the Context. But this Act has been so largely and distinctly discuss'd by a Learned Casuist that a farther disquisition of it is needless. The change of Election of Bishops by Conge d' eslie into Collation by Letters-Patents is a bad instance of the King's Supremacy; for if such collation infers a Regal Supremacy, those, who have read that Bishopricks were originally Donative, not Elective, will be apt to conclude that the King's of England were always Supreme. Nor is this Nomination at all injurious to the Divine Right of Bishops, which is not deriv'd from the Persons Electing or Nominating, but the Pastors Consecrating.

But we have him again crying out upon. He finds the King and Parliament authorizing Arch-Bishops, Bishops &c. By Virtue of their Acts, to take Informations concerning the not using of the Common-Prayer &c. Therein prescrib'd and to punish the same by Excommunication &c. The first and last of these &c's, are very artificially placed for corrupting the Text. After Bishops should have follow'd, Chancellors and Commissaries, after Excommunication, Sequestration, and other Censures and Processes. So that the Authority given by this Act doth not necessarily respect the Bishops, and that Power of Excommunicating, which they have *jure divino*, but may relate to the power given to Chancellors, and Commissaries, and other Officers, who plead no such divine right to their respective Functions; or if the Bishops are included, yet not so as that they de-

* Bishop Sanderson's Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal power.

[2d]
rive the power of Excommunicating from this Act, but of inflicting the other punishments, which by this Act may be inflicted. Or let us suppose the Bishops authorized by this Act to Excommunicate, and Excommunication taken in the strictest sense for internal Censures, yet this will be no injury to their *Jus divinum*; untill it be prov'd that because God has gave the Bishops a power to Excommunicate, therefore the King may not command them to put it in Execution, where there is a just Cause.

1. He finds 32 Persons commission'd to reform the Laws Ecclesiastical. But this he found before in King Henry's Reign, where it has already been consider'd, and whither I refer the Reader, as often as this Author shall be pleas'd to remind us of this Discovery.

2. He finds Six Prelates and Six others commission'd to make a new form of Consecration of Bishop's and Priests. He might have found that this Act as well as the former was made at the ^a request of the Convocation. Nothing is by him excepted against the Form it self; and for the Authority, the Synod petition'd such a Commission might be granted; the ^b Persons commission'd were all Clergy Men; and ^c the Synod confirm'd it when done. As for the Oath against the Pope inserted in the new *Ordinal*, it was by birth a Roman-Catholic; ^d King Henry's Bishops took it without scruple; That ^e part of it, which this Author thinks most offensive is since put out, and he may be as severe as he pleaseth upon a Non-entity. The Heretical Catechism in the 43^d Paragraph shall be spoken to when it meets us agen in the 166th.

3. The 44th would justify a Protestation of Bishop Bonner's,

See the Petitions of the Clergy. Burn. Vol. 2. p. 47.

^b Six Prelates, and six Divines Bur. V. 2. p. 141.

^c King Edwards Articles. Art. 35. Bur.

V. 2. Coll. p. 218.

^d Fox. p. 1093.

^e Compare the Oath in Fox with the Oath of Supremacy as it now stands.

which that Bishop himself recanted. He is angry at Fox for calling that Protestation Popish. But that Prelate himself in his recantation of it calls it *unadvised, of ill example, unreasonable, and undutifull.* If Fox abuses the Bishop it is because *Popish* signifies something worse then all these.

We are next entertain'd with a confus'd Catalogue of §. 45. Articles propos'd to Bishop Gardiner's Subscription, together with our Author's Notes upon them. One of the most pertinent Notes would have been, that Bishop Gardiner subscrib'd most of these Articles; but this was not for his Interest to observe. His remark is that *tho' in some of these Articles the Autority of Parliament is mention'd, yet in none of these is any thing said of the Consent of the Clergy, as necessary to make such Parliamentary or Regal injunctions valid.* That the consent of the Clergy was urg'd to this Bishop, I hope he does not deny; I am sure elsewhere He confesses it. The meaning must be, that this consent was not urg'd under the modality of making the Regal Injunctions valid, Nor do I see any Neceſſity it should; for Gardiner had not yet so far refin'd his gross fense of the Supremacy, but that he still own'd his Obligation to obey His Majestie's Godly Injunctions and Ordinances concerning Religion. Neither could the Imposers of these Injunctions, according to their Principles, lay so great a ftreſſ on the consent of the Clergy; for if the matter of the Injunctions was unlawful, no Church-Autority could make them lawful; but if it was agreeable to the Law of God, then the Civil Autority without the *Synodal* (if that had been wanting) was ſufficient. From this idle remark the Author has rais'd

^a Bur. V. 2. Coll. p. 112.

^b Fox. p. 1350. 1357.

^c §. 110. it is urg'd by . that in the this charge was given in, is not denied charge given in against Gardiner it is said, in the Reply to . §. 119.

that the Injunctions were of all men for all sorts obediently receiv'd. And that

as idle a Consequence; From this non-mentioning the consent of the Clergy he collects, *that when the Synodal consent of the Clergy is anywhere else mention'd, as sometimes it is, it is not to add any Autority to these Injunctions thereby.* Now to me it seemes a wild Inference that because the Synodal consent was once not urg'd as necessary, therefore, when-ever it was urg'd, it was thought to add no Authority. I may certainly obey my Prince in a thing lawful, tho' my Pastor doth not at the same time exact this Obedience from me; But when they both require the same Duty, there ariseth a new tie of Obedience, and I am now under a double Obligation. But least we should wonder why the King and Parliament never pleaded any Necessity of the Synodal consent, the Author conjectures the reasons to be, 1st. *Because some of the Voters were displace'd, and so their suffrage less Authentical.* But these places were supplied, and then I would know why those, who succeeded into their Pastoral charge, did not also succeed into their Synodal Authority? and if so, why the Reformers should think the Act of a Synod less Authentical when Ridley sat there, than when Bonner did? His second reason is, *Because they saw that the Laws of this National Clergy could stand in no force, but so would also the Laws of the Church, and her Synods which were superior to the English Clergy;* And if the King urg'd his and his Subject's freedom from the Laws of the Church Universal, so must He also from the Laws of his own Church National. Church, Superior Synods, and the Church-Universal are words, which sound big; but when they come to be construed, the Laws of the Church, signifie Papal Decrees; Superior Synods are put for any Council that is forreign; and the Church-Universal dwindles into Roman-Catholic. In this case I hope we may obey our Lawful Pastors, tho' we reject an Usurper; Nor are we quitted from our Obligation to the

the just Autority of our own Bishops, because we do not submit to the Invasions of Forreigner. But if by *Church-Universal*, and *Superior Synods* is meant what other People understand by those words, it rests to be prov'd that the Reformed plead an Exemption from their Autority.

The 46th Paragraph tells us of God's just judgment on §. 46. Bishop Gardiner, for having so zealously abetted the King's Supremacy. But the divine Judgments are differently interpreted, according to the different Sentiments of the Interpreters. Other Writers tell us of severer Judgments inflicted on this Prelate, than Deprivation, and that for more flagrant crimes then asserting the Regal Supremacy.

He concludes this Chapter with *the resentment of the Clergy for their lost Synodal Autority*. It is confess that the Extreme of raising the Ecclesiastical power too high, in the times of Popery, had now produc'd another of depreffing it too much. But this was the *Infelicity* of the Clergy, not their *Crime*. The same Autority, which tells us the Clergy complain'd of this, tells us also that those complainers were the Reformers. But this is a truth, which is industriously conceal'd, and the Citation mangled lest it should confess too much. *Hæc discrimina pati Clericis iniquum atque grave visum est*, faith he, from the *Antiquitates Britannicae*. *Clericis multo jam acrius atque vigilantius in divina Veritate, quam unquam antea laborantibus*, say the *Antiquities*. This Omission I believe was not for brevity sake, for he doth not use to be so frugal in his Citations. But the Reader was to understand by *Clerici* the *Popish* Clergy exclusively to all others, and the decay of *Synodal* Autority was to be represented not as the *grievance*, but the *fault* of the Reformers. For this reason it is that we find this Author indecently insulting over that pious Martyr Bishop Hooper. All, which I shall observe of it, is this .

this, that what is here said of this Bishop's Appeal from the Ecclesiastical to the Civil power, is applicable to St. Paul's *Appeal to Cæsar*. The cause then was Ecclesiastical, for *They had certain questions against him of their own Superstition*. And the Bishop might have us'd St. Pauls Plea, *That after the way which they call'd Heresie, so worship'd be the God of his Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets.*

This Chapter more nearly concerning the *Reformation* it may not be amiss to give a brief Summary of what is perform'd in it. It is said, that all the Supremacy was confirm'd to *Edward the 6th*, which was conceded to *Henry the 8th*; But no reason is given why it should have been diminish'd: that some Statutes against Heretics were repeal'd; but this repeal not shewn to be without good reason, or good Authority: that all Jurisdiction Spiritual is said to be deriv'd from the Prince but this Expression taken in a due Sense may be justified, and if it could not, the Act being void, we are under no Obligation to defend it; that the Bishops are authoriz'd by Virtue of an Act of Parliament to excommunicate; but this Interpretation is forc'd upon the Statute, and the words taken even in this Sence will not bear the Stress which is laid upon them; that 31 Commissioners were appointed to reform the Laws Ecclesiastical, and 6 Prelates with 6 others to reform the Ordinal; but nothing said to shew that these did not want a Reformation, or that the Persons commission'd were not qualified, for such a trust; and these two urg'd as the mere effects of *Parliamentary Supremacy*, which were the *Synodical* request of the Clergy: that an Oath of Supremacy was impos'd on Persons entring into Holy Orders; but this Oath invented by Papists, and in that part which gives Offence since alter'd: that an

a. Acts 25. 11. b. Acts 25. 19. c. Acts 24. 14.

Hypothetical Submission of *Bonner* was not accepted; but this such a Submission as that Bishop recanted: That the consent of the Clergy was once not urg'd as necessary to make the Regal Injunctions valid; But no reason assign'd why it should have been: That the Clergy complain'd of their lost Synodal Authority; But these the Reformers, who yet are accus'd of being no Friends to it: That Bishop *Hooper* appeal'd to the Civil power; But so also did S^t. *Paul*. The title of this Chapter (least the Contents may have made the Reader forget it) was, *The Supremacy claim'd by King Edward the 6th.*

A Reply to Chapter the 5^h.

WE are come now to Q. *Mary's* Reign, the fatal Revolutions of which We would willingly forget, did not the unseasonable importunity of these Men refresh our memories. Our Author had acted the part of a skilful Painter, had he cast a veil over this piece of his History; for the Calamities of this Reign tend little to the Honour of that Religion, and are never properly insisted on, but by those who write Invectives against Popery; But those Reflections, which create horror in other men's breasts, seem to have a different Effect on this Writer: for in his entrance upon this Reign, it is easie to discover such a new Warmth and Vigor in his Expressions, as betray him to be in a more then ordinary rapture. *All that had been done in the two former Reigns by Prince, by State, or by Clergy, were now by an equal Authority of Prince, Clergy, and State revers'd, repeal'd, ejected.* His Discourse here has put on a new air, and like the Orator in his triumphs over exil'd *Cataline* he prosecutes declining Heresie with an *abuit, excessit, evasit*. But here to moderate his Acclamations, let me tell

him that this Prince, who thus *reverses, repeals, and ejects*, was the same that gave the *Suffolk* men full assurance that she would never make any Innovations or changes in Religion; The same, that made an open Declaration in Council, ^b that though her own Conscience was staid in matters of Religion, yet she was resolv'd not to compel or restrain others: So that this after repealing reflects severely on those Guides, who had the Government of her Conscience, and those Principles, by which She acted. *Lay-Supremacy* was indeed at last ejected by her, but not till the other parts of the Reformation were reverst by it's Influence. If sending out Injunctions in matters Ecclesiastical, using the Title of Head of the Church, convoking Synods, ejecting Bishops by Commission, prohibiting some Preachers, licensing others, inhibiting the Pope's Legate to come into the Kingdom, if these, I say, are admitted to be signs of a *Lay-Supremacy*, it must be confess that Q. *Mary* was such a Supreme. It is not therefore Regal Supremacy, as such, but as countenancing the Reformation, which these men condemn. Those Powers, which in the former Chapter were Invasions of the Church's right, do in this easily escape our Author's Censure. We are told now of the *power of the Prince* when Protestantism is to be defac'd, who in the establishment of it was allow'd to have no power in Causes Ecclesiastical. Nor is the *Clergy*, which here *reverses, repeals, and ejects*, less liable to Exceptions. For the first change was not of Religion, but of the Pastors; and the Reforming Bishops were ejected before the Reformation. Thirteen Prelates we find depriv'd to make room for a revering Hierarchy; and of ^c Six-

^a Burn. V. 2. p 237.
^b Bur. V. 2. p. 245.

^c See them reckon'd by this Author. § 53.
d Bur. V. 2. p. 276.

teen-thousand Inferior Clergy-men (as they were then computed) 12000 turn'd out for committing the unpardonable Sin of Matrimony. As for the Authority of the State, i. e. the Parliament, it was none, we were told, in the 2 former Reigns, and sure it had no advantage in this if it be remembred, how Elections were manag'd, and how predominant Spanish Gold was.

The 4 next Paragraphs give us an account of the Re-^{s. 49.}
stitution of things made in Q. Mary's days; which I al-^{s. 51. 52.}
low, and only desire the Reader to carry a long with him
what has been hinted of the manner of it. Paragraph ^{s. 53.}
the 53^d questions, whether this Clergy in Q. Mary's days
were a lawfull Clergy? And the succeeding pages endea-^{s. 54.}
vour their Vindication. The Bishops ejected by Q. Mary
he has numbred from Fox, but leaft we should have too
much truth together has took care to qualifie it with his
Paratheses. Fox mentioning Hooper ejected from Wor-
cester, it is added [*he might have said from Gloucester*
too, for Hooper in the latter end of Edward the 6th's
time held both these Sees together in Commendam.] Our Author might have spar'd this Observation from San-
ders, had he consulted the ^b Appendix to the History of the Reformation, where this lie of Sanders is confuted. Hooper was first made Bishop of Glocester, which before King Henry the 8th's time, had been part of the Bishoprick of Worcester: In King Edward's time these Sees were reunited, so that Hooper had not two Bishopricks, but one that had for some Years been divided into two; He only enjoy'd the revenue of Glocester. [For Wor-
cester, Latimer for Non-conformity to the Six Articles
had been ejected out of it, or for fear resign'd it, yet (for
what reason I know not) could not in King Edward's
time be restor'd to it.] This again is a transcript froin

the inexhaustible ^a Sanders. *Latimer*^b was not ejected, but freely resign'd his Bishoprick upon passing the Six Articles, with which he could not comply with a good Conscience. In King *Edward's* time the House of Commons interpos'd to reposess him, but he refus'd to accept of any Preferment. [*Taylor was remov'd from Lincoln by death, not by the Queen, as appears from Fox.* p. 1282.] Q. *Mary's* Commission for displacing the Bishops is extant, amongst which *Taylor* is one. *Fox* positively saith He was depriv'd; He saith indeed in the place cited that he died, but not that his Death was before his Deprivation. Having given us this Catalogue of the ejected (thus adulterated with his false mixtures) he desires us in Vindication of the just Authority of Q. *Mary's* Clergy to take notice; *That the Ejection of Bishops in Q. Mary's days was not the First, but Second Ejection; the first being made in King Edward's time, when Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, Vely, were remov'd from their Sees.* But here we have a Supernumerary put in to enhance the Catalogue. *Vely*^c was not depriv'd, but did resign. His Character in History is so scandalous that he ought to have been depriv'd, and therefore it had been pardonable to have gues'd that he was; but it was unlucky to aslert it. *Probably*, he saith, *some others were remov'd from their Sees.* To which it may be enough to answer, *probably not.* I find not the Ecclesiastical History of those times accurately written by any. An Accurate Writer in his Sense is one who favours his own Cause, and is careful to insert a necessary Supplement of his own, where the History wants it. His admir'd *Sanders* is in this Sense accurate

^a Sand. p. 181.

^b Bur. V. 2. App. p. 385. 392. & Hist. V. 2. p. 95.

^c Bur. V. 2. Coll. p. 257.

^d Godw. Catal. of Bishops.

enough, but not so accurate, as our Author could have wish'd. Nor Mr. Fox to use the same diligence in numbering the change of Clergy under King Edward, as he doth that under Q. Mary. As for the Bishops which are the Clergy here meant, Fox mentions the Deprivation of all that were depriv'd; and it is because He had not this Author's diligence, that he named no more. Something may be conjectur'd from those general words of his, "For the most part the Bishops were chang'd, and the dumb Prelate compel'd to give place to others that would preach". Mr. Fox was no great Master of Style, nor rigorous in his Expressions, from which our Author would make advantage. But it is a sign his cause is desperate, when he is forc'd thus to build upon empty conjectures. The Deprivation of Bishops is not a matter of so little importance, that our Historians should take no notice of it; but amongst them all, We find no more Depriv'd, then have been mention'd. Dr. Heylin, and Dr. Burnet have been very exact in this particular, but they have not arriv'd to our Author's diligence and accuracy. He must therefore be content with the ejection of only 5 Bishops in King Edward's time; which he promises us to prove not lawful, and consequently the ejected justly restor'd, and the introduc'd justly ejected in Q. Mary's time. The ejection he proves not lawful; Because 1st. Not done by Lawful Authority. 2ly. Nor for a Lawful Cause.

1st. Not done by lawful Authority; Because the Bishops being tried for Matters Ecclesiastical, their Judges were the King's Commissioners. But neither is it true (at least not prov'd) that they were tried for Matters Ecclesiastical; Nor is it true that the King's Commissioners (amongst whom was the Metropolitan) were not proper Judges in such Causes, as has been prov'd by the

Animadverter; Nor can the Autority of such Commissioners, tho' unlawful, be declin'd by this Writer, who presently will prove the Bishops in Q. Mary's time ejected by lawful Judges, Who yet were no other, then that Queen's Commissioners. So that there is in this one Period such a complication of falsehood, as nothing can match, but what follows concerning the *Causes* of their Deprivation.

The *Causes* he supposeth to be all the Articles of Popery as distinct to the Religion Reform'd; *Their not owning the King's Supremacy*; *Non-conformity to his Injunctions*; *Not-relinquishing the Use of former Church-Liturgies*; *Not conforming to the New-Service, and other Innovations*. He supposes he has by this time confirm'd his Autority with the Reader so far that he will credit his bare assertion without vouching any History. But it is impossible He could have falsified so grossly, had not an implicite Faith in *Sanders* given him over to a Spirit of delusion. *Tonstal* was depriv'd for Misprision of Treason; He was a firm Friend of the Protector, and so well satisfied with the first changes which were made, that he is complain'd of by *Gardiner* (as well as *Cranmer*) in a Letter which he wrote to the Protector. ^b *Bonner* and *Gardiner* were depriv'd for not Preaching up the King's Autority to be the same under Age as after; which is a point purely Secular, and relating to the Constitutions of this Government; ^c *Gardiner* in the Sermon (for an Omission in which he was depriv'd) exprest himself very fully concerning the Pope's Supremacy, as justly abolish'd, and the Suppression of Monasteries and Chantries; approv'd of the King's proceedings; thought Images might have been well us'd, but yet might be taken away; approv'd of Communion

^a Bur. V. 2. App. p. 390. 391. ^b Ibid. ^c Bur. Hist. V. 2. p. 70.

in both kinds, of the abolition of Masses, and new Order of Communion; asserted indeed the Corporal Presence, but that was not yet declar'd against. ^a Bonner complied so easily with every Order of Council, that it was not easie to find any complaint against him. ^b Heath and Day complied with all the changes that were made in the first 4 Years of this King's reign, and both preach'd, and wrote for them. They were depriv'd by Lay-Delegates in the 5th Year of King Edward, and my Author hence guesses it was for some Offence against the State. After this account I need not be sollicitous to examine, Whether the Causes assign'd by our Author were just Causes of deprivation or not, having prov'd that they were not at all the Causes.

As for the *Ejection of the rest of King Edward's Bishops by Q. Mary, this, he saith, will be justifiable if done.* 1st. *For a lawful Cause.* 2ly. *By a lawful Judge;* which therefore he assigns. The Causes here he supposes to be all the Articles of Reformation, as distinct to Popery, viz. *Marriage of Clergy; denying the Papal and asserting the Regal Supremacy; accusing the Church-Service of Idolatry, denying the corporal presence in the Eucharist, or that it was a propitiatory Sacrifice, &c.* This again he asserts upon his own Authority; which had need to be great, since it contradicts all others. Of the Bishops ejected by Q. Mary, (besides those who made room for the re-entrance of the former Possessors, not unjustly ejected, so far as has yet appear'd, and therefore unjustly reintroduc'd) ^c Four of them, *Holgate, Farrars, Bird, and Bush* were ejected for Marriage. ^d Three others *Taylor, Hooper, and Harley* were depriv'd by De-

^a Bur. V. 2. p. 121.

^b Bur. V. 2. App. p. 390.
^c Bur. Hist. V. 2. p. 247.

^d Bur. V. 2. Coll. p. 256.

^e Ibid. p. 257.

legates, who were empower'd to declare their Sees void, as they were already void. ^a *Barlow* was made to resign. ^b *Cranmer*, the only remaining Bishop in the Catalogue, was esteem'd Arch-Bishop till he was degraded for Heresie; so that he indeed was depriv'd of his See, and of his Life together, for the Causes alledg'd. Now as for those, which were ejected for Marriage, it was warranted by the Law of God, the Autority of the Primitive Church, the Statutes of the Realm, and the Synodical Act of the *English* Clergy. Nor is it to any purpose, which our Author urges, that these Acts of the Parliament and Synod were repeal'd; since a repeal could only abrogate the Law for the future, not void it from the beginning; it might make that *Marriage should be*, not that it should *have been* unlawful; it might legitimate the proceedings against these Bishops if they retain'd their Wives, not warrant the deprivation of them for what was past. Nor is it more material which is here urg'd, that the Laws which legitimated such Marriage were void in their making, as being contrary to the Canons of Superior Councils, untill it be proved that those Councils, which prohibited such Marriage, were our lawful Superiors, and, if so, had power to lay such a Yoke upon their Subjects. For these Councils he refers me to the *Discourse of Celibacy*, and for a Reply I refer him to the *Answer* to it. As for the next 3 Bishops *Taylor*, *Hooper*, and *Harley* their Judges were not to seek for a Cause, who had power to declare their Sees void, *as they were already void*. But let us at last suppose the Causes of their Deprivation the same as are by him alleg'd; as it is confess they were the Causes, for which *Cranmer* was depriv'd, and for which He and others were burnt; Yet whether these were just Causes

of Deprivation or not, doth not depend upon this Man's confident Assertion, but on the truth of the thing. It seems something arrogant thus Magisterially in one breath to condemn all those Doctrines of the Reformation, which have hitherto stood the shock against all their Arguments, and their Faggots ; their *Bellarmines* and their *Bonners*. The Reformers for some Years have been writing and dying in Justification of these Doctrines, and doth this Author at last think that the very naming of them is Evidence enough that those Bishops, who were ejected for their adherence to them, were rightfully ejected as to the Cause ? But it is enough with these Men to condemn an Opinion, that it is not their own ; For as for the truth of particular Doctrines, whether there be a Trinity, whether Christ and the Holy Ghost be God, or the like, these, we are told, ^aare things that trouble none, who hath once undergone the Mortification of dethroning his own Judgment, and hath captivated it to the Unity of the Church's Faith.

But as they were regularly ejected as to the *cause*, so they were as to the *Judg*, they being not ejected, he saith, by the Queen's Commissioners, but by the delegates of the Western Patriarch. This, not to speak too bluntly, is a ^b*Gasconade* with a Witness. Had not the World been presented with a Collection of Records, such an Assertion, as this, would have been more tolerable; but to tell us they were not depriv'd by the Queen's Commissioners, when we can have recourse to the ^cOriginal Commissions, by which they were depriv'd, became one, who writes as if he had no reputation to lose. But the Judges were to be prov'd *Canonical*, the Delegates of the Prince had before been affirm'd to be *Uncanonical*, and this being a

^a Guide in Controv. Preface.

^b Book of Educ. p. 294. Edit Ox. 1677.

^c Bur. Vol. 2. Coll. p. 256. 257.

knot impossible to be untied, the Knight-Errant boldly cuts it.

Having prov'd that these Bishops were regularly ejected as to the *cause*, and as to the *Judge*, the next Question is, whether they were regularly *burnt* too? As for the burning of Heretics, it is to be consider'd, He saith, that the Secular Laws, not Ecclesiastical appoint it, and the Secular Magistrates, not Ecclesiastical, execute it. This amounts to no more than that Kings are the Pope's Executioners; they are requir'd to extirpate Heretics upon pain of being themselves extirpated; and if they will not be active, must be passive. It is farther observ'd that Protestant Princes, as well as Catholic, have thought fit to execute this Law upon Heretics. He instances in *Joan of Kent*, and *George Paris* burnt in *Edward* the Sixth's days. But these suffer'd for Impieties directly against the Creed; ^a *Joan of Kent* for denying that Christ was incarnate of the Virgin Mary; ^b *George Paris* for denying that he was God. We have King *Edward's* tears recorded which he shed upon signing the warrant for *Joan of Kent's* execution; but I have not read of any tears shed upon that Occasion by Q. *Mary*. Some other Anabaptists condemn'd and recanting were enjoynd to bear their Faggots. But ^c the Opinions of these Anabaptists would have made an Anticreed to that of the Apostles; and bearing the Faggot is ill oppos'd to the cruelty of that Reign, when ^d recanting did not exempt from burning. In Henry the 8th's time, Cromwel pronounc'd Sentence on Lambert to be burnt. I never read before that King *Henry* was a Protestant Prince. Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* committed to the Counter Thomas Dob a Master of Arts, who also died in prison. The Consequence is, that Protestant Princes burn Heretics.

^a B. V. 2. p. 111. ^b Ibid p. 112. ^c Ibid. ^d Ibid. p. 111. ^e *Cranmer's case.*

In Q. Elizabeth's time Lewes and Hammond were burnt for Heretics. Hammond's Impieties against God and his Christ were such, as Mr. Cambden will not mention, but desires they may be buried in Oblivion. Lewis was an Heretic of the same Magnitude. Hacket was executed for Heresy and Blasphemy. Such blasphemies as might have been utter'd by a falm Angel. Cappin and Thocker were hang'd for publishing Brown's book against the Common-prayer. But that book full of Sedition against the State. *In King James's time Bartholomew Legate was burnt for an Heretic.* But he an Arrius Redivivus. As for the Statute of King James An. 3. Jac. 4. c. it does not punish the reconcil'd as Heretics, but as Traytors. The Crime there reputed Treason is with-drawing the Natural Obedience from the Prince; and none can suffer by that Act, who takes the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Had the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* lain as quiet as this Act, We should not have reflected with so much horror on the Cruelty of the C. of Rome. This instancing in a Statute made only *in terrorem*, and never put in Execution (tho' the demerits of some Apostates have been sufficiently provoking) would tempt one to look back into the last Century, and review the Treasons and Rebellions which extorted the making of that Statute: but I forbear to pursue this Topick, least too warm a zeal against the disloyalty of that party be it self interpreted dis-loyal.

Having shew'd us the Protestant's judgment concerning the justnes of burning Hereticks, he next gives us his own Sentiments. The ignorant Laity, and illiterate Clergy he in his great mercy rescues from the Faggot, and

^a Cambd. Hist. of Eliz. p. 235. Edit. Lond. 1675.

^b Ful. Hist. Book 9th. p. 205.

^c Stow's Chron. Q. Eliz. p. 696.

^d See his Opinions. Full. l. 10. p. 62.

condemns only to Poverty and Prisons. This in *Spain* or *Italy* had been a great Act of grace; but He might be sure few of our Laity or Clergy could plead the benefit of it. The Fathers of the Church and Learned Sons of it are not mention'd in this Indulgence, and there seems to be no reserve for them. Indeed He had stretcht his kindness too far in favour of the *Hæreticis credentes*, and as if he repented, *confesses some of them to have been extremely arrogant and ignorant*. It provokes his Indignation that Mechanics should dispute with Bishops. But the advantage these Mechanics had in the cause, made amends for the imparity of the Advocates. And after all, *Bonner*, and the *Miller* were not such unequal Disputants, as He would perswade Us. *They relied* he faith, *on the uncertainty of their own Judgment*. But this Protestant-certainty such, as has been prov'd to rise as high as the Popish Infallibility. He is not *satisfied* that the *Relations of these disputes are pen'd with Integrity*. Indeed the reaonings of the *Roman Prelates* and Doctors are such, as One would be apt to think them misrelated; but when I read our Modern Controvertists, I begin to have a great respect for their Fore-fathers.

57.68. The next Paragraphs tell us, that if the Ejection of these Bishops were lawful, then the Introduction of others will be so too, tho'. 1. Whilst they living, 2ly. Without the Metropolitan's consent. But I am so well satisfied he has not prov'd the lawfulness of the Ejection, that I shall not dispute with him concerning the Consequences of it. Our Author him-self, who doth not use to be scrupulous, seems here unsatisfied with his own performances. For being conscious he has not prov'd Q. *Mary's* Clergy lawful, He has another hold to which he makes his last retreat. He is willing to justifie Q. *Mary's* re-establishment of the former Religion, even without

out her own Clergy, from the Authority of Superior Synods. This he knows is part of our Plea, but with this advantage on our side, that Whereas, he will have the Prince oblig'd to execute the *Church's* Canons without Inferior license, We think him much more concern'd to provide for the Execution of *Christ's* Laws without such consent of the Clergy.

What has been said in this Chapter cannot want a Recapitulation. The ejection of Bishops in King *Edward's* time was to have been prov'd unlawful, because for an unlawful Cause, and by an unlawful Judge; the ejection of Bishops in Q. *Mary's* time lawful, because for a lawful Cause, and by a lawful Judge: the Judges in both cases were the same, *viz.* the Commissioners of each Prince; the Causes in neither are rightly assign'd; and of those which are assign'd, Nothing is said to prove their respective lawfulness or unlawfulness. This is the great Argument of the Chapter; to repeat all the falsehoods in it, would be to transcribe it.

A Reply to his 6th Chapter.

THAT the former Supremacy was reaffirm'd by Q. E. §. 70.7th *Elizabeth*, is confess: Thus much is said in the Title of this Chapter, and no more in 3 pages of it. Some bounds of this Supremacy are own'd to be assign'd by §. 72. Protestant Writers: Who therefore are wrong'd by this Author, when they are represented as Advocates of an unlimited Supremacy. The Qualifications by us urg'd are taken from the Queen's Title, her Admonition, the words of the 37th Article, and the Proviso in the first Act of Q. Elizabeth. Now as to his Rational Reply to §. 73. the Title; that Head and Governor in a due sense are synonymous, I allow; but because the Style of Head gave

gave Offence, the changing of it into a word, which was less obnoxious to cavil, was material. As to the *Admonition*, it has been observ'd by the *Animadverter* that no more power is there challeng'd to the Prince, than was due of Ancient time to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and so much our *Church-Governour*, if he will be constant to his own Principles, cannot deny. As to the *Clause of the 37th Article*, that, he tells us, will be subscrib'd by all fides; I hope therefore the Supremacy is there limited; Else the Romanists will subscribe to an unlimited power of the Prince. As to the *Proviso*, that the adjudging of Heretie should be confin'd to the Canonical Scriptures, four first General Councils, and Assent of Convocation, and that this should be no confinement of the Supremacy, is to me a Paradox. That the re-establishment of the Supremacy was not consented to by the Bishops, who were in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's Reign, is true; but whether those in the former Chapter have been prov'd a lawful Hierarchy, must be left to the Reader. This indeed was asserted strongly; but proving is not this Author's talent.

A Reply to Chapter the 7th.

I Have hitherto, not without great patience, pursued this Author through all his windings, and turnings, and every where discover'd his constant fallacies and prevarications. Being arriv'd to Q. Elizabeth's Reign, in which the Reformation had it's last settlements, We might justly have hop'd He would have been drawing towards a Conclusion. But We have been wandring in a Labyrinth, and after this tedious pursuit are brought to the same point again, whence We ~~first~~ set out. Four

long Chapters have been spent to shew us what Supremacy King *Hen. Ed.* and Q. *Eliz.* assum'd; and the same things are to be repeated again in above an hundred pages more, to shew how they acted according to ^{s. 78.} such Supremacy. This I know is a frightful prospect to the Reader, but that He may not be dejected, I promise him to dispatch the succeeding Chapters with greater brevity, and to give them an Answer more proportionable to their weight, than their bulk.

We are told that *King Henry by Virtue of his Supremacy committed the Laws Ecclesiastical to be reformed by 32 Commissioners.* But this was a Repetition when we met it last; it was spoke to when it first offer'd it self; and I should follow a bad pattern, if his Example should invite me to repeat.

By Virtue of such Supremacy he set forth certain Injunctions concerning Matters of Faith. These Injunctions were the genuine Acts of the Convocation. The setting them forth therefore was not by virtue of any *such. i. e. any new Supremacy.* For it is confess, that to enjoyn the observance of Synodical decrees by Temporal ^{s. 80.} punishments was such a Supremacy, as the Princes of this Land, before *Hen. 8th*, had and exercis'd. *These Articles set forth seem to him to have nothing in them favouring the Reformed Opinions, and to discede in nothing from the Doctrine of former Councils.* Why then are they brought here as an Evidence that the Reformation was carried on by mere Civil Supremacy? But however our Author and *Sanders* agree in their History, they differ much in their judgment. *Sanders* styles some of these Articles Heretical, the Doctrines of *Luther*, and *Zwinglius*, and saith they are diametrically oposite to the Catholic Religion. The body of them he compares to

the *Alcoran*, as made up of a Medley of Religions, and after his usual manner of treating Princes, calls King *Henry* upon this Occasion another *Mahomet*. The Reformers at that time thought a great Step made by these Articles towards a Reformation: The Papists here were much mortified by them, and the Papal party abroad made great Use of them to shew the necessity of adhering to the Pope, since King *Henry*, having broke off his Obedience to the Apostolic See, did not, as he had pretended, maintain the Catholic Faith intire. If therefore these Articles do in nothing discede from Popery, it is because the *New Popery* of this Age has disceded much from the *antiquated Popery* of the former. It is noted, that the King by Virtue of his Supremacy commands these Injunctions to be accepted by his Subjects, not as appearing to him the Ordinances or Definitions of the Church, but as judg'd by him agreeable to the Law of God. Our Author had little matter for Censure, when He urg'd this as an Accusation. It is imputed that he paid more deference to Christ's Law, than to the Act of a Convocation; and chose rather to resolve his and his Subjects Obedience into the Authority of God, than of Man. Thus are We taught that we must put out our Eyes, e're We can follow Our Spiritual Guide, as We ought; and in our Faith prescind from Christ's Authority, if We will approve our selves good Catholics. For if what is enjoyn'd by the Church seem agreeable to the Word of God, and therefore is accepted, such acceptance is accus'd of not being sufficiently resigning; So that no one, according to these Principles, is a true Son of the Church, but he who pays a blind Obedience to her Dictates, either without any regard to God's Laws, or in formal Opposition to them.

[49]

By Virtue of such Supremacy he publish'd a Book entitl'd, §. 21.
A necessary Doctrine for all sorts of People. The two
Arch-Bishops, several Bishops, and Doctors of the Church
compil'd this book. If the Doctrines in it were as Orthodoxy,
as they were thought necessary, I see no harm in
the Publication. Whether they were or not, concerns
not us, it being not pretended that these (or the Six Ar-
ticles, which are here also urg'd) were Acts of the Re-
formation.

Heresie became a thing of the Parliament's cognizance, as §. 82.
well as the King's; Of their cognizance, not only for the
declaring and punishing, but also the adjudging of it. What
the nice difference is betwixt declaring, and adjudging
Heresie, I am not so subtle a Nominalist as to determine.
Heresie was no farther of the Parliament's cognizance,
then to declare, how it should be punish'd. It was, in
this sense, of the Parliament's cognizance before King
Henry the 8th's time, when the Laws were made against
Lollards, and after King Edward's time, when those Acts
were by Q. Mary's Parliament reviv'd.

He has dwelt the longer on these Instances that We may §. 83, 84.
see, when a Prince (together with his Particular Clergy, or
rather whom out of them He shall choose) claims a power of
composing Models of Christian Faith, and declaring all those
his Subjects Heretics, who do not believe and obey such his
Determinations; what danger, what mutability occurs in such
a Nation, as often as this Independent Head is not every way
Orthodox. It concerns not us, what ill Consequences
may attend the claim of such a power, untill it be prov'd
that we ascribe such an Authority of New-Modelling the
Faith to our Princes. The Apostolic, Nicene, and Athana-
sian Creeds we receive and embrace ; but I know not of
any Henrician Creed incorporated into our Faith. The

Romanists have a Creed Younger by some Years then King *Henry*; but nothing is a part of our Faith, but what sprung up with Infant-Chriftianity. It is therefore a wild Inference, that because we own the King to be Supreme Head of the Church, therefore We make the Christian Religion mutable. Did we make Acts of Parliament the Rule of our Faith, there would be ground for such an Objection; For then an Article of Faith might be enacted and repeal'd at pleasure, and He, who was *Orthodox* in one Session, might become an *Heretic* in the next. But Scripture is the Rule of our Faith, a Rule like it's Author, unchangeable; *the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.* The *Christian* indeed is obnoxious to the power of the Prince, but *Christianity* is without the reach of his Sword. Nor has the King this influence over the external profession of Religion, as he is the *Ecclesiastical Head*, but as he is the *Civil Supreme*. God has intrusted him, as Iuch, with the power of the Sword, with a command indeed to use it for the protection of the *true Religion*, but with a natural liberty still of using it for the Protection of a *false*. This Author, I confess, has a remedy against this, namely, *some Temporal coactive power lodg'd in the Pope, in order to dissolve upon Occasion the coactive power of the Prince;* But we do not envy him this *Catholicon* against Innovation. Passive Obedience is our Principle, and if this renders the legal Establishment of our Religion more obnoxious to the pleasure of the Civil Magistrate, Yet it better secures our common Christianity. Q. *Mary* therefore may repeal King *Edward's* Laws, but unless she could repeal *Christ's* Law too, *Ridley's* and *Latimer's* Religion will still be the same; The only difference is, that the Faith, which before they defended from the *Pulpit*, they now more effectually propagate at the *Stake*. To conclude this point; whilst Princes have

the power of the Sword, and Subjects are oblig'd to Non-resistance, the Supreme Governor will have an influence over the outward State of Religion; and He, that complains of this, repines against the Methods of God's providence. It is no blemish therefore on the *Reform'd Religion* (which is here dwelt upon by this Author) that it went forward or backward under King *Henry*, according as his different passions or Interests inclin'd him. Whilst Q. *Ann* liv'd it had indifferent succes, saith *Fox*. Here then, faith our witty Observer, *the Supreme Head of the Church was directed by a Woman, and manag'd the Affairs of Religion accordingly*. Now admitting this were a truth, which had escap'd him, Yet the curious *Editor*, I doubt not, amongst his Collections has met with a *Medal* representing *Donna Olympia* with the Pope's Mitre on her Head, and St. Peter's Keys in her Hands; and on the Reverse, the Pope with his Head dreft like a Lady, and a Spindle in his hand. Be it also true, that *Cromwel, a Laic, had the total management of Ecclesiastical affairs under King Henry*, Yet any one, Who is conversant in History, knows that the administration of the Popedom has been in the Hands of more obnoxious Favourites.

What is said in the next Paragraph, is not of more moment herè, then when first mention'd in Paragraph the 19th. §. 85.

By Virtue of such Supremacy, he took Possession of all the Monasteries and Religious Houses. Our prolix Author, who never spares his own Labour, or his Reader's Patience, has enlarr'd upon this point for 12 Paragraphs, and is very copious against Sacrilege. But I do not see how our Cause is concern'd in this charge; Avarice and Sacrilege are as great Sins in our *Homilies*, as they are in the Popish *Canons*; and *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were as severe against robbing the Church, as this Declaimer. We are

are no more concern'd to defend King *Henry's* rapines, then the Lufts, some have charged him with. Were the Suppression of Abbies as great a crime, as it is here under false colours represented, I do not see why we are more oblig'd to plead in it's favour, than this Writer would think himself bound, because he asserts the power of the *Roman Patriarch*, to justifie the foul and unparalleled enormities of those, who have sat in St. *Peter's* chair. But were the dissolution of Monasteries represented impartially, it would be easie, were it necessary, to give it a fair appearance; and it must be at last confess that the fault of King *Henry* was not so much in taking away those foundations of Superstition, as in not applying all the Revenues, as he did some (and had done more, if the Reformers had had more Influence over him) to Uses truly Religious.

By Virtue of such a Supremacy he made orders and gave Dispensations in matters of Marriage, of Fasts, of Holydays, of Election and Consecration of Bishops, and Challeng'd a power of abrogating several other Ceremonies. It ought to have been shewn, that any Constitutions concerning these did ever oblige us, but such as either were made and ordained within this Realm, or such other as were induced into the Realm by sufferance, consent, and custom; for until this Proposition laid down in the Statute be disprov'd, the Assumption there, that the State hath power to dispence with it's own Laws, will be unshaken. Ecclesiastical Canons with this Author is another expression for Papal Decrees; the Autority therefore, which supported them, being justly taken away, it is no wonder if they fell with it. Amongst the Rites, which King *Henry* commands to be observ'd, till he shall be pleas'd to alter them, Fox reckons paying of Tithes;

Where this Annotator observes, that, *Tithes are here conceived to be in the disposal of the Supreme Head of the English Church.* Now whether King Henry thought Tithes to be *jure divino* or not, doth not concern the Reformation; But what is here said of *payment of Tithes* doth not prove that he thought them *alienable* from the Clergy; For he might by his Laws regulate the payment of them, tho' he did not think them *disposable* in this Author's sense. Several Statutes were made in his Reign for the better securing this Right of the Clergy; In them ^a Tithes are said to be *due to God and the Church*; the detainers of them to have no regard of their ^b *duties to Almighty God*; And the ^c *Reformatio legum* derives the Clergy's original right to them from the Laws of Christ.

By Virtue of such Supremacy, he without any consent of ^d the Clergy, by his Vice-gerent Cromwel order'd that English Bibles should be provided and put in every Church. The translation of the Bible was petition'd by the 2 ^e Houses of Convocation; and the publication of it was included in that request. This Act therefore had the consent of the Clergy, tho', had it wanted it, it would have been justifiable from the Law of God. The prohibition of the Scriptures to the Vulgar, which follow'd afterwards, was no Act of the Reformation, but of the Anti-reformers. It was pretended that some *erroneous* Opinions were propagated by a free Use of the Scripture; and therefore that Use was restrain'd. Now least it be objected by Us, that the Opinions, the King call'd *erroneous*, were the Protestant doctrines discover'd by the Vulgar from the New light of Scriptures, this Author bids us see the very Opinions as the Bishops collected them in Fox: unownable by any sober Christian. It is my fate to deal

^a 27. Hen. 8. c. 20.

^b 32. Hen. 8. c. 7.

^c Ref. Leg. Tit. de Decimis cap. 1.

^d Bur. V. I. p. 195.

[94]

with One, who glory's in his Shame ; and Who is seldom content to be mistaken, but he refers his Reader to the very Page, which confutes him. Fox, in the very place by him cited, has shew'd how unfaithful the Bishops were in that Collection ; He has with great Industry compar'd the Bishop's Catalogue of Errors with the Books, whence they are cited, and from the Comparison has prov'd the Bishops guilty of a fault (which this Author inherits from them) that *they perverted the sayings of the Protestants otherwise than they meant, falsly believed them, or untruly mistook them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as might serve for their most advantage to bring them out of credit.*

102. By Virtue of such a Supremacy these things that King did, some of them against the Canons, not of Popes, but of the Catholic Church, and Superior Councils. The truth of this depends upon the four first parts of Church-Government : When we know what he means by *Church-Catholic*, what by *Superior Councils*, and what those Acts of the Reformation are, which are thus opposite to such Obligatory Canons (for we do not desire to justifie all King Henry's proceedings) it will then be seasonable to give in our Plea to this (at present) indefinite charge.

103. That the King should derive his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction on Cromwel a secular person, and unlearned ; concerns not Us, since the placing such Jurisdiction on a Person so unqualifi'd is no part of the establish'd Discipline of this Church. But that this is not a thing *unparallel'd*, the *Animadverter* has given an Instance in the King of Spain's exercising by Lay-Delegates greater Autority in Spirituals, then can be pretended to have been lodg'd in Cromwel.

[55]

If now we look back to the preparations, which were made towards a Reformation in this King's Reign, and consider that the Papal Ulurpation was by him abolished, the Rites and Constitutions, which depended merely on that Authority, fallen together with it; the Superstition of Images, Reliques, and redemption of Souls out of Purgatory supprest with the Monasteries; the extravagant Addresses to Saints reduc'd to a mere *ora pro Nobis*, and that left at Liberty to be us'd or omitted; the Scriptures translated, publish'd, and made the Rule of Faith; and the power of a National Church to reform her self vindicated; We shall not be scrupulous to scribe Mr. Fox's *Epiphonema*, which so much grieves this Author, *That King Henry did by his Authority more good for the redressing and advancing Christ's Church here in England in three Years, than the Pope the great Vicar of Christ with all his Bishops and Prelates had done in the Space of three hundred Years before.*

A Reply to Chapter the 8th.

This Chapter is usher'd in with a reflection on the ^{§. 104.} breach made by King Henry upon the Church's Doctrines; I confess my self very curious to know how a breach here is reconcil'd with a *Non-discession from the Church's Doctrines* above; but will by no means engage ^{§. 80.} this Author upon so immoderate a task as that of salving all his Contradictions; I rather choose to own it as an extraordinary piece of modesty, that he has plac'd the two Contradictory Propositions in different Chapters.

He challenges the Duke of Northumberland to be of ^{§. 105.} _{n. 1.} the Roman Church. We confess it, nor do we envy him such a member. His striking in for ambitious

ends with the Reformers, who went upon honest principles, casts a blot upon his memory, but no blemish on the Reformation. Whether *Cromwel* died a *Roman Catholic*, as this Author intimates, or not, the term *Catholic* faith us'd in his last Speech made doubtful. This Writer bids us compare *Fox* with *Lord Herbert*. *Fox* supposes him a Protestant, and in the Margin calls his Speech : *A true Christian profession of the Lord Cromwel at his death*: *Lord Herbert* in his History faith no more then that ^b he made profession of the Catholic faith; the *Index* indeed faith, he died a Roman-Catholic. The ^c Author of the *Antiquities* gives him an High Character, and supposes him of the Reformed Religion. I do not find that *Heylin* or *Godwin* mention any thing of this. ^c *Fuller* after his way descants upon it, and inclines to think him a Protestant. Dr. *Burnet* ^d makes it appear that the term *Catholic* faith was then us'd in it's true Sense, in Opposition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome*. He argues "from his praying in English, and that to God only, "through Christ without those tricks, which the Roman "Church use when they die, that he was none of theirs. After all, this Controversie is not perhaps worth the deciding; but this Author is over peremptory in affirming that he died a *Catholic* in his Sense.

105.
2. King Edward had but one Parliament all his days, continu'd by Prorogation from Session to Session, till at last it ended in the death of the King. It betrays gross Ignorance in one, who sets up for an Historian, thus blindly to mistake in a matter so notorious. The first Parliament was dissolv'd. Apr. 15. 1552. and a second call'd the 1st. of March after. As for the complexion of King Edward's

^a *Fox*. p. 1190.

^b *Lord Herbert*. Hist. p. 524.

^c Under the Letter C.

^d *Antiq. Brit.* p. 334.

^e *Ful. Hist.* l. 5. p. 233.

^f *Bur. V. 1.* p. 285.

^g *Bur. V. 2.* p. 195. 214.

Parliament, which he has given us from Dr. Heylin, It arises to no more then that in so great a Body, All did not act upon pure principles of Conscience, but some were sway'd by their Interest: An imputation, from which None can pretend to vindicate their Infallible Councils, not this Author himself.

Cranmer is accus'd of *unorthodox Opinions* concerning ^{s. 105.} the power of the Church. Cranmer pretended not to ^{n. 3.} be Infallible, and all that is here said, is, that he was not. He had some singular Opinions concerning Ecclesiastical Functions, which yet he enjoyed by himself, and never studied to make them part of the doctrine of this Church. These afterwards he corrected, and we find him subscribing a Declaration, in which it is affirm'd, that the Power of the Keys is formally distinct from that of the Sword. And least it be thought that in this subscription he was over rul'd by a majority, in a Work, which was wholly his own without the concurrence of any other, He sets forth their Divine Institution. Post-
rity, saith our Commentator, might have done better to have cover'd this Nakedness of their forefather, then to have publish'd it after so great Silence. A caution this of great use to the Followers of Ignatius and Francis, but till we come to draw Parallels betwixt Cranmer and our Saviour, we shall not be ashamed to own in him the frailties of a Man.

King Edward sent out *Injunctions in matters of Religion.* ^{s. 106.} True! And these contrary to the Decrees of former Obliging Councils. Which, till the four former parts of Church-Government are publish'd, I may safely deny. Without the consent of a Synod, the Act of which only has force in such Matters. This has been said often, but never yet attempted to be prov'd.

• Bur. V. 1. p. 172. & Bur. V. 1. inter Addenda. p. 357. & Bur. V. 2. p. 71.

He next presents us with a summary of the King's proceedings from *Fox*, but, according to his usual method, very much interpolated. Men of Learning were sent for from foreign Countries, saith *Fox*; *Which argues scarcity at home of those Clergy, who would second the King's Reformation*, saith the Comment. After his rate of *arguing*, very possibly it may; men of great Learning, say Travellers, are at this time great rarities in some *Popish* Countries; Yet my Logick gives me no encouragement to argue, that in those places there is a scarcity of *Popish* Clergy. Among those sent for, saith *Fox*, were *Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Fagius*; *He might have added*, saith the Parathefis, *Bernardus Ochinus*. Had he been as much delighted in *adding*, as we find this *Church-Governor*, he no doubt would have *added* it. But Mr. *Fox* very probably had not read that *Ochinus was sent for*, and therefore besides other reasons made Conscience of saying it. “*Martyr taught at Oxford, Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge*, saith *Fox*. *Sure*, saith our Author, *not because the Universities were not held so Learned, but because they were not counted so Orthodox*. Very *sure* it is, that a composition of both was requir'd, and it is no wonder if in the very dawning of Reformation, Persons so qualified were very rare. *Fox addeth*. “*And that with no small commendation of the whole University*. The Author puts in, *not without opposition of many Learned Men there, and recommends to our Reading, when at leisure, the rational arguings of Mr. Glyn, Mr. Langdale, and others against the Reformers*. How rational their arguings are, he, that is at leisure, may consider; but this Writer has given us such a *Specimen* of his own, that I doubt his Judgment will little recommend them. But, since he has impos'd this task upon us, I hope, by way of return, he will be pleas'd to peruse the *Dialogue between Custom and Veritie*

Veritie, which immediatly follows that part of *Fox*, which he has assign'd us. As for the Oxford oppositions, Peter Martyr's relation is perhaps not the most impartial. And some may say our *Church-Governor* is perhaps not the most Honest. For if by this scrupulosity of Expression he would insinuate that *Martyr* was partial, this is a Calumny borrow'd from *Sanders*, and replied to by his Confuter. You may find in his Opponents, *Tresham*, *Chadsey*, and *Morgan*, much Learning, Reverence to the Church, and zeal in their Cause. I have not the Relation by me, and therefore can pass no judgment on this Learned Triumvirate. But as for *Tresham* we have a Specimen in *Fox* how great a Talent he was Master of in disputing. Being Pro-Sub-Dean of *Christ-Church* he call'd all the Students together, and recommended Popery to them upon these convincing grounds.

" 1st. He urg'd, that there were a goodly company of Copes that were appointed to *Windsor*, but he had found the Queen so gracious to him, that they should come to *Christ-Church*; Now if they, like honest men, would come to Mass, they should wear them on Holy-days. A second motive was, that he would get them the Lady-Bell of *Bampton*, and that should make the sweetest ring in all *England*. The third was, that as for an Holy-Water-Sprinkle, he had already the fairest within this Realm. He thought therefore no man would be so mad, as to forego these commodities. It may be needless to remark to the Gentle-men of that Foundation, that our Adverfaries are still the same dangerous Orators, and therefore, if any should have irrecoverably engag'd his Affections to a pretty pair of Beads, or set his heart immoderately upon the great Bell, it concerns him to have a guard upon himself. The Author having muster'd up the Bishops ejected in King

[60]

Edward's days, adds; Pate *Bishop of Rochester*, Goldwel *Bishop of St. Asaph*, — *Bishop elect of Bangor* are said to have been Banish'd. If the Author was Jesuite enough to say this to himself, before he wrote it, he may come off, If not, it will prove a most unconscionable Gasconade. Pate ^a was never Bishop of Rochester, but of Worcester; he was not Banish'd, but Fled; and this not in King Edward's time, but in King Henry's. So here was *multum in parvo*. Goldwell ^b was not Bishop of St. Asaph, nor any other Bishop till A. 1555. which was in Q. Mary's time, and therefore it was an unreasonable *Prolepsis* to make him one of the exil'd Bishops in King Edward's time. *Anonymous Long-stroke Bishop Elect of Bangor* is one of our Author's own Creation. Some more, he faith, might be renov'd in like Manner; who happen not to be mention'd because deceas'd before the Reign of Q. Mary; as Wakeman *Bishop of Gloucester*, Holbeck *Bishop of Lincoln*, Skyp *Bishop of Hereford*, Rugg *Bishop of Norwich*. No doubt they might have been, if this Church-Governor had pleas'd, for never Committee-man ejected more arbitrarily, then he. But that they actually were not remov'd, we have these good reasons to think. The ejection of Bishops is particularly insisted on by our Historians; but these Bishops make none of the number. All these Bishops do happen to be mention'd, not as depriv'd, but deceas'd; Tho' their Deprivation had deserv'd mentioning, as well as their Death. Wakeman dyed in Dec. 1549. ^c Ho'beck in August 1551. ^d Skyp in the Year 1552. Rugg dyed in the Year 1550, according to Godwin; Dr. Burnet ^e call's him *Reps*, and faith he resign'd.

^a Godw. Catal. of Bishops in Worcester. Bur. V. 2. p. 324.

^b Heylin's History. p. 224.

^c Burn. V. 2. p. 152. Heylin's Hist. p. 90.

^d Burn. V. 2. p. 203. Heylin's Hist. p. 129.

^e Burn. V. 2. p. 218.

^f Godwin's Catalogue in Norwich.

^g Burn. V. 2. p. 150.

[61]
So that what our Author has inserted here *de proprio* is like to be lookt upon as one continu'd Forgery.

The next two Paragraphs have more truth in them, ^{§. 108.} being transcrib'd from *Fox*, But the Proclamation inhibiting the whole Clergy to preach, cited from *Fuller*, is question'd by ^{to §. 109.} *Burnet*, who met with no footsteeps of it neither in Records, nor Letters, nor in any Book written at that time.

The succeeding Paragraphs of this Chapter pretend to ^{§. 110.} give Us the defence made by the Protestant Divines concerning King *Edward's* proceedings, together with our Author's *Rational Replies*. But besides, that from the fair dealing of this Author already detected, we have no reason to expect him ingenuous in representing the Arguments of our Divines with their just weight; it may be farther offer'd by way of Precaution, that those excellent Divines, which he refers to, wanted one advantage, which we of this Age have from a more complete and Authentic History of the Reformation, and, among other things, not knowing of the ^b rasure of Records made in Q. *Mary's* Reign, pleaded to those Negative Arguments which we have good reason to reject. This premis'd, I proceed to consider with all possible brevity his *Alphabet* of Arguments.

^a Urges that these Injunctions were not set forth but by the advice and consent of the Metropolitan; and ^b of other Bishops. The substance of his Reply to ^a and ^b is, that these Injunctions had not the Authority of the Metropolitan, as such, *i. e.* as acting with the *major* part of the Synod. Now ^a^b may easily rejoyn that where the matter of the Injunctions is lawful, much more where it is necessary, as being commanded in Scripture, there the coactive Authority of the Prince is sufficiently Obligatory; and that since the Office of Pastors (wh-

^a Burn. V. 2. p. 81. ^b Bur. Hist. V. 1. Pref.

ther in or out of Synod) is directive, these Injunctions proceeding from the *direction* of both the Metropolitans (for ^a Holgate also ArchBishop of York was a Reformer) and ^b other Learned Bishops, were not destitute of Ecclesiastical Authority.

¶ Saith these Injunctions were not set forth as a body of Doctrine (which was the Act of the Synod in the 5th. of King Edward) but were provisional only for the publick exercise of Religion and Worship; and *Gamma* is in the right of it, for any thing his Replyer saith to the contrary, who doth not pretend that they were. A new Objection indeed is started, and pretended instances given that King Edward *claim'd a power for rectifying the Doctrines of his Clergy.* But not to trouble the Reader with examining the Instances, we say that such a power might have been justly exercis'd, and that a Prince, requiring his Clergy to receive and teach such Doctrines, as were taught by our Saviour, usurps no Authority not invested in him.

¶ Saith, The publick Exercise of Religion was necessary to be provided for at present. It is answer'd, *that the Judgment of a National Synod was necessary for such Provision.* For the proof of that, we are refer'd to a Book, which no Bookseller has yet had the courage to undertake; and therefore for a Reply, I remit him to the Answer to it; which he will find at any Shop, where *Church-Government Part the 4th* is to be sold.

¶ Saith, The Injunctions extend only to some evident points, the abolishing of Image Worship, the restoring of the Liturgy in a known tongue, and Communion in both kinds, and the abolishing of *Romish Masses*, and that in the three former the King restor'd only, what was establish'd in the Ancient Church. It is replied that

^a Bur. V. 2. p. 25. ^b Ibid. ^c Ch. Gov. Part 4th.

[15]

nothing is said in ζ of taking away the Mass; But if the Reader be pleas'd to consult ζ he will be satisfied of our Author's modesty. If ζ did not charge the Mass with Novelty, it was because the Respondent had the management of the Opposition. As for the other three points, §. 117. he confesses that the Reformation in them restor'd the practice of the Primitive Church, and so kind he is, that he could have pardon'd us this, had we not proceeded to pronounce the contrary Doctrines unlawful. A very heinous aggravation this, when he himself confesses, that *Errors in practice do always presuppose Errors in Doctrine.* From which *Zeta* doth humbly *subsume*, that those Church-Governors who would have been *facile* to licence a change of their *practice*, ought not to have been *difficile* in allowing us a decession from their *Doctrine*.

The Controversie betwixt out Author and ϵ is so trifling that it is not worth troubling the Reader with it. For this reason perhaps it was, that *Zeta* took *Epsilon's* place.

* Urges that these Injunctions were generally receiv'd, and put in practice by the Bishops; and θ much what the same, that they were consented to by the major part of Bishops. The Answer to this consists of some Pages; but what is material in it will ly in a less room. It is urg'd that some were averse to the Reformation, that the Compliers were guilty of *dissimulation*, of an *outward compliance* whilst *contrarily affected*, that they remain'd of the old Religion in their heart, wore vizours, took up a disguise, and were sway'd by the fear of a new Law-giving Civil power. To this * and θ will not be so rude as to rejoyn, that it may perhaps be this *Editor's* personal Interest to prove that these Bishops complied against their Consciences, and that Hypocrisie was the general principle of that

that party; but that it is little for the honour of the Communion, which he would seem to be of, to urge, that the whole body of it's Pastors were guilty of the highest prevarication possible with God and Man. But this doth doth not at all affect our Divines, who only urge that those Bishops conform'd, and might in charity have hop'd that they did it Honestly, but are not concern'd, that this Compliance was from base and ungenerous Motives. What is said here of the *Liturgy* shall be consider'd in λ , where it ought to have been said. I cannot dwell upon the History of these Paragraphs; but there are in it some bold strokes worthy of our Author.

- .121. He blushes not to cite *Parson's Conversions*, a book made up of lying and Treason, and which might have made the Mastery in Assurance betwixt it's Author and *Sanders* disputable, had not Posterity seen a third Person, who may seem to have put an end to the quarrel. In
- .124. a citation from *Fuller*, tho' he refers us to the very Page, he puts upon us four Popish Bishops more then *Fuller* reckons; Aldrich Bishop of *Carlile*, Goodrich Bishop of *Ely*, Chambers Bishop of *Peterborough*, and King Bishop of *Oxford*. Now, tho' by the absolute Autority of a Church-Governor he might have impos'd these four Bishops on us, Yet it seems very hard that *Fuller* should be commanded to satisfie us of this point, who not only mentions no such Bishops, but in his Marginal notes tell's us, that he thinks *Oxford* and *Ely* were at that time void. We are told that *Cranmer* in the beginning of King *Edward's* days call'd a Synod, wherein he endeavour'd to have effected a Reformation, but could not; for which we are bid to see *Antiq. Britann. p. 339.* But he, who would see any such thing there, must borrow our Author's Spectacles.

* Urges, that it makes no real difference whether a Reformation begin from a Vote of Bishops in Synod, and

and so proceeding to the Prince be by him establish'd, or take beginning from the Piety of the Prince mov'd by advice of faithful Bishops, and so proceeding to the whole Body of the Clergy, be by them generally receiv'd, and put in practice according to the command of Sovereign Authority. The Answer is, that the King's. 130. did not propose a Reformation to the Clergy by them to be consulted of, and upon their Assent or denial to be establish'd or laid aside, which would have been lawful; but by them to be obey'd, as impos'd by the King, which He thinks unwarrantable. But to this it may be replied, from what has before been urg'd, that the matter of the Command being lawful (not to say necessary) the Authority of the Prince is Obligatory, and that the conformity of the Bishops is an Evidence that the matter was by them judg'd lawful.

In it is urg'd that the first Form of Common-prayer, and Administration of Sacraments in the 2^d. Year and 2^d. Parliament of King *Edward*'s reign had the approbation and consent of the whole body of the Clergy in Convocation. To this it is offer'd by way of Answer, That no other *Act of Reformation* before the 5th of King Edward had the consent of Convocation. But neither is this true, nor doth it prove that therefore this Liturgy had not. That it was confirm'd by *Act of Parliament* before it had this consent. But, granting this, had it therefore not the consent of Convocation? But, how doth he prove that the *Act of Parliament* preceded the Decree of the Synod? Because the *Act of Parliament* doth not mention the consent of Convocation. Negative Arguments he knows do not conclude, and it is positively said in the Letter of the Council to Bishop *Bonner* that this Liturgy (not only had the Assent) but

146.

was set forth with the Assent of the Clergy in Convocation. Our Author himself, when he has forgot the debate here, will tell us, that *the Liturgy was at the same time authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, and consented to by Convocation*. But it is said, *the Second Liturgy was sent to the Clergy, autoritate Regis & Parliamenti*. Ergo, the first Liturgy had not the consent of Convocation. But, *a motive to this consent might be fear of punishment*. Yet the Convocation, which gave this consent, acknowledg'd to King *Edward* the quietness they enjoy'd under him, having no let nor impediment in the Service of God. But *the with-drawing of a few Clergy, especially if prime leaders, and introducing new Votes of a contrary persuasion into their rooms (suppose taking away six old Bishops, and putting in six new ones) may render that, which before was a major part, now a lesser, and consequently the Act of this major part invalid*. This putting of cases is very impertinent here, for when the content of Convocation was given to the Liturgy, not one old Bishop was depriv'd. For the Letter to *Bonner* before mention'd, which mentions this Assent of Convocation to the Liturgy, is directed to him then Bishop of *London*, who yet was the first of the Bishops depriv'd. *This Liturgy, he faith, rather omitted, then gainsaid the former Church-tenents and practice*. This is urg'd by way of Apology for the Convocation's consenting; but whether the Liturgy *omitted or gainsaid the Church-practise*, it was one main branch of the Reformation, and it is not denied that it had the Vote of a Synod. The errors reform'd were such as corrupted, either the *Worship or Doctrine*; that the Reformation of Worship had the Authority of a Synod, is after much shuffling

granted; Whether the Articles, which were the Reformation of Doctrine, were not confirm'd by the same Authority is to be examin'd?

This is with good reason affirms; the Replier defers §. 134.
the dispute, Whether the Articles were the Act of the Synod? and upon Supposition that they were, Answers that *the Clergy were now much chang'd, many old Bish'ops displac'd, new ones introduc'd; many absented from Synod, others dissembled.* All this is said upon our Author's bare credit, which by this time may not be altogether unexceptionable. Only five Bishops have been prov'd to be ejected; two of these, *Heath* and *Day*, in the same Year wherein these Articles were past; and their Deprivation plac'd in History after the passing of the Articles; the Bishoprick of *Durham* was not yet dissolv'd; only two New Voters therefore (*Ridley* and *Poinet*) introduced by the Ejection of the old (*Bonner* and *Gardiner*) and those old, not prov'd to have been unlawfully ejected.

What is said in v is not denied in the Answet to v, but §. 135.
something said which must wait for a Reply, till Church-Government Part the 4th has overtook the 5th.

A Reply to Chapters the 9th. and 10th.

Our Author having describ'd the general way of §. 136.
King *Edward's* Reformation proceeds to particulars: His description of the *general* has prov'd very Poetical; the *particulars* are most of them serv'd up the second time, and very little alter'd in the dressing.

By Virtue of such Supremacy he sent Articles to the §. 136.
Bishop of Winchester to subscribe. But these Articles were sent once before in the 45th Paragraph, and needed

not have been sent again here, since the Bishop sub-
scrib'd all (but that which contain'd an acknowledg-
ment of his fault) at the first sending.

137. *By Virtue of such Supremacy the six Articles were repeal'd without a Synod.* The repealing of an Act of Parliament is not, I suppose the busines of the Convocation. King *Henry's* Parliament had affix'd severe Penalties on the Violators of the Six Articles; these King *Edward's* Parliament took off. Nothing therefore was repeal'd by the Civil power, but it's own Act. But neither is it true that none of these Articles were revok'd by Synod. For the Convocation, that sat with this Parliament, declar'd for Communion in both kinds, and Marriage of Priests, contrary to two of those Articles. Had not the Registers of this and other Synods been lost, I doubt not but we could have prov'd most Acts of the Reformation Synodical.

138. *By Virtue of such Supremacy he justified the power us'd by his Father over the possessions of Monasteries and Religious Houses.* That is, He did not throw up his right to them. This power was justified by *Gardiner*, and *Bonner*, and others, whom our Author must own for Catholics. This Power was justified by Q. *Mary's* Parliaments, who would not part with their Lands, as they did with their Heresy. This power is still justifiable by the Romanists, or else a late ^d Author deceivs Us, who has invited us to his House to a Volume of satisfactions, that the Alienation of Church-Lands consits with the principles of that Church. But tis said, King Edward went farther, and declar'd Monastic Vows to be unlawful, superstitious, and unobliging. The Reformers have always declar'd the same, and must continue to do so, till some reasons are brought to convince Us of the falsehood

^a Fox. p. 1350. 1357. ^b Bur. V. 2. p. 509. ^c Ibid. ^d Nath. Johnson.

of such a Declaration. Those, which are offer'd in the Discourse of Cælibacy, are not demonstrative. King Edward seiz'd upon Chauntries, Free-Chappels &c. his pretence being the Unlawfulness of offering the sacrifice of the Eucharist, or giving alms for the defunct. The unlawfulness of these is not pretended by the Reformation, but prov'd; The Chauntries were dissolv'd, that the provisions for them might be converted to more pious Uses; this was the design of the Act of Parliament (for which only We can be thought oblig'd to answer) how ever it might be defeated: For the statute expressly provides that *they be converted to good and Godly Uses, as in erecting Grammar-Schools for the Education of Youth in Virtue and Godliness, the farther augmenting of the Universities, and better provision for the poor and needy.*

In this he went beyond his Father, that He began the §. 139.
taking of Bispop's Lands also. This must be reckon'd an Act of the Reformation, tho' he knows it is as pathetically lamented by our Writers, as by his own. He cites the complaints of three Protestant Bishops (*Cranmer, Ridley, and Godwin*) and a Protestant Dr. (*Heylin*) to prove this charge, and yet at the same time has the boldnes to charge it on the Reform'd. Sure, faith he, *foul things were done in this kind, because I find even King Edward's favourite Bishops highly to dislike them.* If *Cranmer, and Ridley, and other King Edward's favourite-Bishops* disliked the spoyl of the Church-goods, why is the Odium of this cast upon the Reformers? Or why must very foul things be done, before these declare their dislike, when it will be found upon History that *Cranmer and Ridley* were more inveterate Enemies to robbing of the Church, than *Gardiner, and Bonner?* He shuts up this Paragraph with a remark, that *Lay-menders*

[70]

menders of Religion, ordinarily terminate in these two things, the advancing of their carnal Liberty and temporal Estates. Sure this Author thinks that We know nothing beyond the Alps; that we never heard of the rich Nephews of Popes, which are flagrant evidences that Carnality and Avarice are not only Lay-vices. But perhaps he may object, that Popes are no *menders of Religion*.

140. *By Virtue of such Supremacy he remov'd Images out of Churches, and this when the Second Nicene Council had recommended the Use of them.* This Second Nicene Council is often appeal'd to by this Writer; there is a Second Divine Commandment, (or at least there once was such a Commandment) which will deserve his Consideration. What Reverence we pay to this Council, he may have learnt from a late Reply, where the Reader will find a just Character of this celebrated Assembly.

141. *By Virtue of such Supremacy, he impos'd a Book of Homilies.* i. e. He took care that the people should be instructed in things concerning their Salvation, who

142. before had been kept in ignorance. *He laid a command upon the Clergy to administer the Communion in both kinds to the people.* Which Command had been laid upon them by our Savior. *Contrary to the Injunction of the Council of Constance.* Which Injunction was made with a *non-obstante* to the Institution of Christ. *Without any preceding consultation of a National Synod.* But ^b others tell us it was agreed to by the Convocation, which sat with that Parliament, and particularly that in the lower House it did not meet with a Contradictory Vote.

143. The succeeding Paragraphs to the 164th treat at large

^a Reply to the 2 Disc. Oxon. ^b Bur. V. 2. p. 50.

[71]
of the Suppression of the former Church-Liturgies, Ordinals, and other Rituals; the setting up of New Forms of Celebrating the Communion, Ordination, and Common-prayer; the alterations of King *Edward's* first Common-Prayer-Book in his Second, and the reduction of some things, in the Scotch Liturgy, to the first Form of King *Edward*, and the complaints concerning this in *Laudensium Autocatacrisis*; But the Reader will excuse me, if I think a defence of our Liturgy at this time of day needless; the unlawfulness of the Mass, and Invocation of Saints, and the non-Necessity of Sacerdotal Confession have been defended in Volumes; besides that this, which is here said, is only a Second Edition of the two Discourses concerning the Adoration &c. Where this change of the Services is animadverted on. So that this has been already consider'd, and any farther Reply is superseded by the two Learned Answers from *London* and *Oxford* to those Discourses.

By Virtue of such Supremacy the King conceiv'd he had a power to alter and reform the Ecclesiastical Laws. §. 146

This is the 4th time that this Reformation of the Laws has been insisted on; it is here confess, that this Reformation of them was never ratified by King, Parliament, or Convocation, i. e. that it was no Act of the Reformation; Nothing is urg'd against it but that these Laws were establish'd by former Superior Councils, and the Reader, e're he can be satisfied of that, must be at the charge of four more Volumes of Church-Government.

By such Supremacy he abrogated all former Church-Laws concerning days of fasting or abstinence, and appointed those, he thought fit, by his own and the Parliament's Authority. The Canon-Laws, which he call's the Church-Laws for fasting, were full of mockery and superstition;

[72]

perstition; Religion was plac'd in those Observances, and yet Sensuality was confiscent with them; It was adviseable therefore to take off those Laws, and yet to keep up such as might make Fasting and Abstinence agreeable to their true End; Which is to be a means to Virtue, and to subdue men's Bodies to their Soul and Spirit, the End expressly provided for in the Statute. *There is no Obligation, he faith, for the Observation of either Fasting or Abstinence by any express Canon of this Church Reformed, but only by Act of Parliament.* The days of Fasting are prescrib'd in the Liturgy, which has the Autority of Convocation; Fasting is enjoyn'd in the Homilies, which have the same Autority; It is there recommended from precepts of Scripture, from the Example of Christ, and from the Constitutions of the Primitive Councils; It is defin'd to be a with-holding from all meat and drink, and all manner of Natural food, in contradiction to this Author, who faith, that *not Fasting* is enjoyn'd us, but only Abstinence from Flesh; He might with as good reason have urg'd, that Praying to God, and believing in Christ are not enjoyn'd by the Church, as that Fasting is not; For if by *Canons* he means those, which are properly so call'd, neither is there any *Canon*, that I know of, which enjoyns such *Prayer*, or such *Belief*.

165. *By Virtue of such Supremacy the King and Parliament ordain'd that such Laws which prohibited Marriage to any Spiritual Persons, who by God's Law might Marry, should be of none effect.* The Convocation had declar'd the Marriage of Priests lawfull by the Law of God; the State found the Prohibition tended to the detriment of the Republic, and therefore (had they had no other reason) might according to our Author's own principles take it off.

L 73 L

By Virtue of such Supremacy the King published 42 Ar. 5. 166.
ticles of Religion, said to be agreed on in a Synod of the
Clergy held at London. If these Articles were the le-
gitimate Act of the Synod, then they were not the ef-
fects of mere Regal Supremacy; and that they were so,
will, I doubt not, appear, notwithstanding all his cavils.
If any one should question whether the *Iliads* and *Æneids* were the genuine works of *Homer*, and *Virgil*, the
Title they carry, and the Universal Tradition, which as-
signs them to these Authors, would be thought a suffi-
cient Vindication of them. This Author builds part of
his Faith on the second *Nicene* Council, and opposes its
Decree, in favour of Image-Worship, to the second Com-
mandment forbidding it. If I should ask him how he
knew such a Decree to be genuine, he would not, I be-
lieve, produce the Records, but think it a good Reply,
that it is found amongst those Acts which bear the Name
of that Council, and which the Church has allways ac-
cepted as such. These Articles are published with the
Title of the Synod; this publication was Anno 1553,
the next Year to that, in which we say they were past in
Convocation; the Church for the first 5 years of Queen
Elizabeth retain'd these Articles as her Doctrine; the
Convocation in that Queen's time reestablish'd them
with very little Alteration; they have been appeal'd
to, ever since, by our Writers as the Acts of that Synod;
they have been own'd by our Adversaries as such; and if
so general a Tradition of a thing so notorious, and so
lately done, may not be admitted, the Church of *Rome*
is built upon a weak Foundation. But all this not-
withstanding, this Author thinks he has good Reason
to deny that these Articles were establish'd by that
Synod. First, he transcribes what Mr. *Fuller* faith of this
Convocation, which I shall not hear copy, because the

Author has here (once for all) dealt ingenuously. Mr. *Fuller* saith the Records of this Convocation, are but one degree above blanks; and to the same purpose Dr. *Heylin*. But neither of these Historians had seen Q *Mary's* Commission for razing the Records; else they could have given us an account, why these Registers are so bare. Dr. *Heylin* ^a found left upon Record in that Convocation a *Memorandum* concerning the Dissolution of the Bishoprick of *Westminster*; and it is not improbable that these Articles were expung'd by some Persons, who yet were willing that the Dissolution of a Bishoprick, which they thought might cast an *odium* upon the Reformation, might remain upon Record. As for *Fuller's Assertion, that the Convocation had no Commission from the King to meddle with Chnrch-business*, it is only a conjecture which he makes from the silence of the Records. *Fuller's Discourse of the Catechism* doth not at all affect the *Articles*, unless it be prov'd, that by *Catechism* must be understood *Articles*, which our Author endeavours to perswade his unwary Reader. For this purpose, he next presents us with a Relation from *Fox*, concerning the questioning of a Catechism in the 1st Synod of Q *Mary*; but here he is himself again, as will appear to the Reader, if he compares this Relation with *Fox's*. He concludes this Story with this *Epiphonema*. *This concerning the questioning of the Catechism and Articles*; whereas in the Relation nothing is said of the *Articles*, but the *Catechism* only. To clear this point a little farther, He finds in *Fox* Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* charg'd amongst other things, with being Author of the *Catechism* and *Articles*, and with compelling men against their wills to subscribe them. Here again he shuffles; Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* is not there charg'd for compelling Men to subscribe the *Catechism*,

^a *Heylin's History.* p. 121.

but the *Articles*; as appears from *Fox's relation*, as it is transcrib'd even by himself; but he makes the *Catechism* subscrib'd, that it may look like a Synonymous term to *Articles*. Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* answer'd to that charge, that he exhorted such as were willing to subscribe, but compell'd none against their wills; Now, where this *Exhortation*, and *Subscription* was, unless in Synod, will not easily be answered. Having given us these three relations, he next proceeds to make reflections on them. First he excepts against the words in the Title of the *Articles*, *de quibus inter Episcopos & alios eruditos Viros, &c.* that they seem not the ordinary expression of a Synodal Act, which runs more generally; as thus [*de quibus convenit inter Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, & Clerum universum*] or the like. This, which he calls an *ordinary expression*, will scarce be found in the Title of any Synodal Act before Q. *Elizabeth*. These *Articles* are by him confess'd to have been subscrib'd by part of the Synod; *Cranmer* who drew up the *Articles*, and procur'd Subscriptions to them must himself be a Subscriber; probably also *Holgate* Arch-Bishop of *York*, who was a *Reformer*; *Archiepiscopal* Authority therefore might have been mention'd, had they been the Act of only a part of the *Synod*, and therefore that it is not explicitly mention'd (for it is implied in the *Episcopal*) can be no argument, that they were the Act of a part only. But the other words in the Title, *ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem & consensum veræ Religionis firmandum* shew they must have been the Act of the whole Synod, since the Opinion of a part could not be effectual to such an End. Next he observes, that tho' the Prolocutor in the *Synod i° Mariae questions*, and *Philpot* answers concerning the *Catechism*, yet they speak not of the *Catechism*, but only of the *Articles*, which were first printed at the end of the *Catechism*.

chism, and bound up with it, which the Prolocutor therefore calls the Articles of the Catechism, and proposeth the matter of the 28th of these Articles for disputation; and so also calls them the Catechism, because the first Title of this Book is Catechismus brevis, &c. In this Period we have as much crude unconcocted reasoning, as would have furnish'd an ordinary Writer for some Pages. *Wefton ill deserv'd the Office of Prolocutor, if speaking of a Catechism he meant not that, but the Articles,* which are two as distinct things as can well be imagin'd. The *Articles* were indeed bound up with the *Catechism*; but have a new Title-page, and are as distinct from it as the *Discourse of Cælibacy* is from the *Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther*. Now had the Answerer to the *Considerations on Martin Luther* entitl'd his Book, an *Answer to the Discourse of Cælibacy*, or should the Replyer to the *Discourse of Cælibacy* call his Book a Reply to the *Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther*, they would not take it ill to be laught at; and yet this is our Author's way of arguing. But the Prolocutor speaks of the *Articles of the Catechism*, and therefore must mean the *Articles* at the end of the *Catechism*. Now this is only a quibbling upon Mr. Fox's way of expref-^{sion}, who by the *Articles of the Catechism* means no more then the matter of the *Catechism*, as is evident both from the Context, and from Fox's Latin History, where the Conference is related in such words, as, being void of all Ambiguity, leave no room for Sophistry. Fox

* They are so bound up together in the public Library.

¶ Decretis simul rebus de quibus acturi essent, nempe de *Catechismi* libro, deque iis quæ ad Sacramenti altaris præfentiam, & transubstantiationem attinebant, postquam de his ita rebus atque id genus prolegomenis primo die tractatum est, secundo deinde die Prolocutor in Synodum ingressus duas secum Schedas afferat,

quarum unâ Christi naturalis in Sacramento præsentia affirmabatur, alterâ vero Catechismum neque Synodi autoritate editum, neque eidem etiamnum adhuc Synodum assentiri --- Joh Filpotius; Videmini Vos omnes turpissime falli quod vos ita offendat *Catechismi* inscriptio Rerum in Eccl. gest. Comm. à Joh. Fox, p. 215. Edit Basil.

faith, "Philpot stood up and spake first concerning the Article of the Catechism, that He thought they were deceiv'd in the Title of the Catechism. Where I hope our Author will not understand by the singular Article the 42 Articles. And it is observable that what Fox in English calls in one place the *Articles of the Catechism*, and the Article of the Catechism in an other, that the Latin Fox calls *Catechismi liber* in one place, and *Catechismus* in the other. So that it is evident our Author here only sports himself with a poor clinch upon the English word Article. But it is said, that the Prolocutor propos'd the matter of the 28th of these Articles for disputation. I am apt to lose my patience, when I find one cavilling at this rate, who seems not so much as to have seen King Edward's Articles. The matter propos'd for disputation was the Natural presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but the 28th of King Edward's Articles concerns Baptism. In the 39 Articles as they now stand, the 28th concerns the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and therefore he unthinkingly judg'd it must have been the same in King Edward's 42 Articles. But how doth it follow that because the Natural Presence is spoke of in the Articles, therefore when another question was propos'd, "whether the Catechism was agreed to by the former Synod "by Catechism there must be meant the Articles? This is such a Consequence as ill becomes a Disciple of Occam. What if the same matter be also propos'd in the Catechism? Then I hope proposing this for disputation is no Argument, that by the Catechism is meant the Articles. I desire therefore the Reader to consult the ^b Margin, and he will be satisfied, that the Corporal Presence

See them in Sparrow's Collections, or Bur. V. 2. Coll.

^b Inde non efficitur ut nobis sit corpore presens, cum alia divinitatis eius sit ratio, humanitatis alia; Hæc est creatura, alia increata; hæc in aliquo cœli loco, illa autem sic ubique est, ut cœlum & terram impletat. Quod ad corpoream Chri-

Presence is there denied, and that the Prolocutor had greater reason to call this Book *Heretical*, than our Author has to affirm, without any regard to truth, that it doth not State, scarce touch any Controversie. But still; it is plain they must speak of the Articles, because the Catechism, as taken by it self, is not at all entitled to the Synod, but only the Articles at the end thereof. The Catechism, which we now find bound up with the Articles, is not, I confess, entitled to the Synod; but that either this, or some other Catechism, of which the dispute here is rais'd, was so entitled, is put out of all doubt by a passage we meet with else-where in *Fox*, where *Weston* thus charges *Cranmer*, "You have set forth a Catechism in "the Name of the Synod of London, and yet there be "so, which witnessing that they were of the Number of "the Convocation, never heard one word of that Cate- "chism. *Cran.* I was ignorant of the setting too of that "Title, and as soon as I had knowledge thereof I did "not like it. Here the Discourse proceeds altogether upon a Catechism; and there is no subterfuge for a pretence that Catechism is another word for *Articles*. *Philpot's words are not applicable to the Catechism, but to the Articles only.* *Philpot* pleads that the Catechism might be entitled to the Synod, because the House had com-

sti hic in terris præsentiam attinet (si magna parvis componere licet) sic Christi corpus præsens est nostræ fidei, ut Sol, cum cernatur, præsens est oculo, cuius corpus tametsi corporaliter oculum non contingat, atque hic in terris præsens præsenti adsit, tamen corpus Solis præsens est visui, etiam reluctance intervalli distan-
tia; Sic corpus Christi quod in gloriofa ejus Ascensione nobis sublatum est, quodque reliquit mundum, & ad Patrem abiit, ore nostro abest, etiam cum sacro sanctum corporis & sanguinis ejus Sacramentum ore nostro excipimus; fides autem nostra versatur in cœlis, ac intuetur Solem ju-

stitione, ac præsens præsenti in cœlis haud aliter illi adest, ac visus adest corpori solis in cœlis, aut Sol in terris visui, &c. M. Video, mi fili, te neutiquam ignorare quomodo dicatur Christus corpore ab-
stens, & Spiritu præsens. --- Quemadmodum pane & vino vita nostra natura-
lis sustinetur ac nutritur, sic corpore. i.e. carne & sanguine Christi anima per fidem nutritur ac vegetatur. --- Ita fuit
occulta quadam energia Spiritus, quando credimus Christum corpus & sanguinem suum pro nobis tradidisse, &c. See much more to the same purpose in the Catechism. a p. 1440.

mitted their Synodal Authority to certain Persons, to be appointed by the King, to make such Ecclesiastical Laws as they thought convenient. Now I see no reason why a *Catechism* doth not as properly come under the Denomination of *Laws Ecclesiastical*, as *Articles*; or how the *Catechism's* being drawn up by *Cranmer*, can be a reason that it could not be meant, but the *Articles*; when the *Articles* also were drawn up by *Cranmer*, as our Author himself proves from *Fox*. But, if the 42 *Articles* were fram'd by the *Synod*, the *Prolocutor* had no reason to get bands to the *Catechism*, as falsely ascrib'd to that *Synod*, when what was more opposite to what he accounted the *Orthodox Religion*, namely the *Articles*, was known to be past by them. It was not the Doctrine of the *Catechism*, or *Articles*, which was here question'd, but the false ascription of the *Catechism* to the *Synod*; Now the *Articles* being undeniably genuine, they content themselves only to condemn the Doctrine of them; but the *Catechism* being suppos'd illegitimate, they subscribe both against it's Doctrine, and Authority: Nor could *Philpot* have pleaded, as our Author would have had him, that the *Synod's* composing the *Articles* justified the Act of the Delegates composing the *Catechism*; since this might indeed warrant the Doctrine of the *Catechism*, but not the entitling it to the *Synod*. He faith, all the *Historians* that he hath seen are silent concerning these *Articles*. In this dispute concerning the *Articles* Dr. *Heylin* is twice mention'd, and two several Books of his refer'd to in those very pages where he mentions these *Articles*. In his History
 "He thinks them debated and concluded on by a Grand
 "Committee, on whom the Convocation had devolv'd
 "their power, and esteems it not improbable that these
 "Articles being debated and agreed upon by the said

[55]

" Committee, might also pass the Vote of the whole Con-
" vocation ; though we find nothing to that purpose in
" the Acts thereof, which either have been lost, or never
" were registred. [I add, or being once Registered were
expung'd.] In his *Reformation justified*, ^a He positively
affirms that the Clergy in Synod 1552. did compose and
agree upon a book of *Articles*. Neither therefore is
Dr. *Heylin* silent herein, nor is he one of the Historians,
which this Author never saw. Dr. *Burnet* is another Hi-
storian, whom either this *Editor* had seen, or ought not
to have publish'd this Relation, till he had first consulted
him. He peremptorily affirms, ^b that in the Year 1552.
the Convocation agreed to the *Articles of Religion*, that
were prepar'd the year before. But our Author has
still another Objection in reserve, that *the Arch-Bishop*
Cranmer, *to whom it would have been an excellent Defence*
to have shew'd these Articles to have been subscrib'd by a full
Synod, yet pleaded no such thing. That Reverend Mar-
tyr pleaded that the Opinions, which he maintain'd, were
the Doctrines of the Scripture, and Primitive Church;
that the rejection of the Pope's Supremacy (the fun-
damental Heresie, of which he was accus'd) was the
Unanimous Act of the whole *English* Clergy and Na-
tion; and, which his very Judges had solemnly sworn
to. Now if this Plea could avail nothing in his De-
fence, it must have been a weak Plea to have insi-
sted on Articles past in a Synod call'd by himself,
and over which lie, by reason of his *Archiepiscopal*
Autority, had great Influence. This dispute is con-
cluded with a shrewd Remark, which our Author
raises from a passage of Dr. *Heylin*. The Dr. observes
that this Book of Articles was not confirm'd by any
Act of Parliament; whence he concludes, that the Re-

^a Ref. *Jusitif.* § 4. ^b Bur. V. 2. p. 195.

form'd Religion cannot be call'd a Parliament Religion; Hence this Author gathers *that, neither was it a Synodal Religion, because we see the Parliaments in King Edward's time corroborating the Synods in all other transactions of the Reformation.* Now tho' there is ground for the Drs. observation, because there is never an Act, which formally gives Sanction to these Articles, yet there is in one of those very Acts (cited from the Doctor in this Pamphlet) that, which quite overthrows our Author's Conclusion. For in the *Act for Legitimating Marriages of Priests,* it is said that, *the untrue Slanderous report of Holy Matrimony did redound to the High dishonour of the Learned Clergy of this Realm, who have determin'd the same to be most Lawful by the Law of God in their Convocation, as well by common Assent, as by the Subscription of their Hands.* Which words plainly refer to the 31st of these Articles, and are an Authoritative Testimony, that they are the genuine Act of the Synod; and had, I doubt not, been expung'd, had the *Commission of rasure* extended to the Statute-Book.

I have infisted the longer on this particular, because it is a matter of some moment, and because the Author has here us'd more then ordinary Artifice; I have not had the benefit of any Registers, or Manuscripts, nor am I skill'd in these niceties of History: What has been said, sufficiently overthrows all his Cavils; but the Curious and the Learned are able to give a more Authentic and Solid account of this matter.

A Reply to Chapter the 11th.

THAT the Reformation was restor'd by Q. *Elizabeth*, after the extirpation of it by Q. *Mary*, might have been said in fewer lines than this Author is pleas'd to use Paragraphs. That some things were at first reduc'd without *Synodal* Authority, I confess; and that the Reformation had it's last settlement by a *Synod*, he cannot deny. The *Act* of the first *Popish* Convocation I esteem *illegal*, because the Q. had sent and requir'd them under the pain of a *Premunire* not to make Canons. The Canonicalnes of Q. *Mary*'s Clergy, here acting, depends upon his former Proofs, which were not altogether Demonstrative. But let their Authority be suppos'd just, yet these Constitutions were repeal'd by a later Synod, whose Authority must be conceded equal; and therefore their *Act*, as being the last, Authoritative. The stres therefore of the Controversy lies in this, whether Q. *Elizabeth*'s new Bishops were lawfully introduc'd; and this depends upon the legality of the ejection of the *Old*. The Cause of their ejection is confess to be their denial of the *Oath of Supremacy*, and is just, or unjust, according as that *Oath* was lawful, or unlawful. Our Author therefore sets himself to examine that *Oath*; where he first puts his own Exposition upon it, and then attacqs it, as so expounded. Neither Q. *Elizabeth*'s explication of her own Sense, nor the Church's Exposition in her *Articles* favour his Construction. Those, who take this *Oath*, are not perswaded that they abjure the Authority of a *General Council*, or the Jurisdiction of their own *National Clergy*. But if we accept it in that Sense, which he is pleas'd to impose upon it, Yet still

the Strength of his Arguments depends on such Assertions, as are to be supported by his four first parts of *Church-Government*. We must therefore wait the Edition of those, before We can be satisfied of the Strength of these. But if we may make an estimate of future performances from past, there is no reason to expect any thing formidable from that Quarter. For the only busines of our Modern Controvertists is to rally up those scatter'd forces, which have long fince quitted the field to our Forefathers. This *Oath of Supremacy* has exercis'd the Pens of the greatest Champions of both Churches ; and there is not a shadow of an Argument here brought against it, but what has been baffled, when manag'd with better skill, and more Learning, than this Author is Master of. The *Regal Supremacy* in Opposition to the *Papal* has been asserted by our Kings, (*James* the first, and *Charles* the first in their Writings) Prelates, (*Bishop Andrews, Bilson, Carlton, Morton, Bramhal, &c.*) and Doctors, (*Hammond, Barrow, &c.*) who have exhausted this Subject, and made it impossible, as to oppose it, so to add any thing farther in Defence of it. I shall choose therefore rather to refer the Reader to these great Men for the lawfulness of this Oath, then to imitate this Author in transcribing.

Having attacqu'd this *Oath* in Opposition to repealed Acts of Parliament, which guard it against such attempts with the severest Penalties, he may more securely fall upon Dr. *Fern*, who pleads, that "had none of these Bishops been remov'd by Q. *Elizabeth*, Yet the 6 Bishops remaining of King *Edward's* being restor'd, and the vacant Bishopricks supplyed, the *Popish* Bishops would have been outvoted. To prevent this Inference, our Author tells us. 1st. That King *Edward's*

Bishops being justly ejected by Q. *Mary* could not now lawfully act. That their ejection was just, he supposes, we were convinc'd above; The Reader therefore, according to the Degrees of Conviction, which he found there, is to pass his judgment *here*. 2dly. That Q. *Elizabeth* could not justly supply the vacant Bishopricks with any Persons, but such as the *Major* part of her present Bishops did first approve of. But this, if it prove any thing, proves too much; For if want of the approbation of a *major* part of Bishops, makes the *Election* and *Consecration* of a Bishop void, then neither was Q. *Mary's* Hierarchy lawful, nor the Acts of her Synods valid: if none can be a true Bishop, who has not the approbation of a *major* part of the Bishops of the Province, no true Bishop has sat in St. Peter's chair for some Centuries. If this rule be admitted, it will cut of the Episcopal power of the Bishops of *Amasia*, and *Adramyttium*.

A Reply to Chapter the 12th.

THIS Chapter concerns our *Ordinations*, in which I miss the story of the *Nags-head*; a Fable hift out of the world with so much scorn, that 'tis well and wisely omitted by this Author. But to make some amends for this Omission, what is here offer'd is pickt up from the Confutations of our Writers. There is not an Objection, which has not been replied to by Mr. *Mason*, Arch-Bishop *Brambal*, and, more lately, by Dr. *Burnet*. As will more clearly appear, if I leave this dispute to be manag'd betwixt the *Pamphlet*, and them.

Pamphlet. *The new Ordination grew so far suspected, as deficient, to Q. Mary, that in her Articles sent to the Bishops this is one.* “*That touching such Persons as were*

" heretofore promoted to any Orders, considering they were
 " not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Diocese find-
 " ing otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may sup-
 " ply that thing which wanted in them before, and then ac-
 " cording to his discretion admit them to minister.

A. Bp. Brambal. "To this Objection, that the Form
 " of ordaining in King *Edward's* days was declar'd in-
 " valid in Q. *Mary's* days, I answer, that we have no
 " reason to regard their Judgment. They, who made
 " no scruple to take away their *lives*, would make
 " no scruple to take away their *Holy Orders*. I answer
 " also (and this Answer alone is sufficient to determine
 " this Controversie) that King *Edward's* Form of Ordi-
 " nation was judg'd valid in Q. *Mary's* days by all Catho-
 " liccs, and particularly, by Cardinal *Poole* then Apostolical
 " Legate in *England*, and by the then Pope *Paul the 4th*,
 " and by all the Clergy, and Parliament of *England*.
 " This appears clearly from the words of the Cardinal's
 " Dispensation, wherein he confirms all Persons which
 " had been *Ordain'd*, or benefic'd in the time of King
 " *Henry* or *Edward*, in their respective Orders, and Be-
 " nefices. From which I argue, that if King *Edward's*
 " Clergy wanted some essential part of their respective
 " Ordinations, which was requir'd by the Institution
 " of Christ, then it was not in the power of all the
 " Popes and Legates, that ever were in the world, to
 " confirm their respective Orders, or dispence with them
 " to execute their Functions in the Church ^a.

Pamphl. But if you look narrowly into the words of the Instrument, you may observe, that the Cardinal very cau-
 tiously here saith not dispensamus, or recipimus, in the pre-
 sent, as he doth in every one of his other dispensings, but
 dispensabimus in the future.

^a Consecr. of Protest. Bps. Vindicated c.4.p.445.A. Bp. Br. W.T. 1. Edit Dub. 1676.

A. Bp. Br. "It may perhaps be objected that the Di-
"spensative word is *recipiemus*, we *will* receive, not
"we *do* receive. I answer, the case is all one; If it
"were unlawful to receive them in the present, it was
"as unlawful to receive them in the futnre.

Pamphl. *He saith not recipiemus simply, but with a prout multæ personæ receptæ fuerunt, referring to the manner of reception, which had been us'd formerly in Q. Mary's days, which we find set down in the Queen's 13th Article. viz.* That such new Ordained repairing to the Bishop, and he finding them otherwise sufficient should supply that, which was wanting to them in respect of their Orders, *as they being before not order'd in very deed.*

A. Bp. Br. "All that was done after, was to take a particular Absolution, or Confirmation from the Pope or his Legate, which many of the principal Clergy did, but not all. No not all the Bishops, not the Bishop of Landaf, as Sanders witnesseth; yet he enjoyed his Bishoprick; so did all the rest of the Clergy, who never had any particular confirmation. It is not material at all, whether they were confirm'd by a general, or by a special dispensation, so they were confirm'd or dispense'd with at all, to hold all their Benefices, and to exercise their respective Functions in the Church, which no man can deny".

Pamphl. *That the Roman Bishops held not the orders receiv'd by the new Form sufficiently valid, is clear from the Bishop of Gloucester his degrading Ridley only from his Presbytership, not his Episcopacy; for saith he, We do not acknowledge You for a Bishop.*

Mr. Mason. "Ridley was consecrated by the old form, and therefore this Objection is impertinent."

Pamp. *The same You may see in Fox concerning Hooper made Priest by the old form, Bishop by the new, and therefore degraded in Q. Mary's days only as a Priest.*

Dr. Burnet. "They went upon this Maxim, that Orders given in Schism were not valid; so they did not esteem Ridley nor Hooper Bishops, and therefore only degraded them from Priesthood; tho' they had been ordain'd by their own forms, saving only the Oath of Obedience to the Pope".

Pamph. *Again, Mr. Bradford made Priest by the new form, and therefore in his condemnation not degraded at all, but treated as a mere Laick.*

A. Bp. Br. "Popish Bishops are no competent witnesses to give evidence concerning the Orders of Protestants. If one of us should urge a Determination in either of our Universities against them in a point of Controversy, agitated between us, for an authentic proof, how would He make himself merry with Us? Yet we might do the one, as well as he doth the other".

Pamphl. *Bishop Bonner wrote a book, wherein he contended that the new devis'd Ordination of Ministers was insufficient and void, because no Authority at all was given them to offer in the Mass, the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; but both the Ordainer, and Ordained despis'd and impugn'd, not only the Oblation or Sacrifice of the Mass, but also the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.*

A. Bp. Br. "He saith, We are not order'd to offer true Substantial Sacrifice. Not expressly indeed. No more were they themselves for 800 Years after Christ, and God knows, how much longer. No more are the Greek Church, or any other Christian Church, except

a Burn. Hist. V.2 p.290. b Protest. Ordin.def. against S.N. Tom.4. Disc. 7.p.1006.

[88]

“the *Roman*, at this day. Yet they acknowledg them to
“be rightly Ordain’d, and admit them to exercise all the
“Offices of Priestly Function in *Rome* it self. We acknow-
“ledge an *Eucharistical* Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiv-
“ing; a *Commemorative* Sacrifice, or a memorial of the
“Sacrifice of the Croſs; a *Representative* Sacrifice, or a
“representation of the Passion of Christ before the Eyes
“of his Heavenly Father; an *Impetrative* Sacrifice, or
“an impetration of the fruit and benefit of his Pas-
“ſion by way of Real prayer; and laſtly, an *Applicative*
“Sacrifice, or an application of his merits unto our Souls.
“Let him that dare, go one ſtep farther then We do;
“and ſay, that it is a *Suppletory* Sacrifice, to ſupply the
“defects of the Sacrifice of the Croſs. Or else, let them
“hold their peace, and ſpeak no more againſt us in this
“point of *Sacrifice* for ever ^a.

Pamp. *Those, who are truely ordain’d, yet, if in an He-
retical or Schismatical Church, their true Orders as to the
Exercise of them are unlawful; and ſo, unleſs a Church be
first clear’d from Heresy and Schism, these Orders are not
rightly employed in it.*

A. Bp. Br. “First I deny that the *Protestant* Bishops
“did revolt from the Catholic Church; Nay they are
“more Catholic than the *Roman-Catholics* themſelves.
“Secondly, I deny that the *Protestant* Bishops are He-
“retics. Thirdly, I deny that they are guilty of
“Schism. Fourthly, I deny that the Autority of our
“*Protestant* Bishops was ever reſtrain’d by the Catho-
“lic Church. Fifthly, No ſentence *whatſoever*, of
“*whomſoever*, or of what crime ſoever can obliterate
“the Episcopal Character, which is indeleble, nor diſa-
“ble a Bishop from Ordaining, ſo far as to make the
“Act invalid ^b.

^a Bp. Bramhal’s Works. Tom. I. Disc. 3. c. 9. p. 255. ^b Ibid. Disc. 7. p. 990.

Pam. *Tko' I do not here state the Question, Whether they had such due Ordination and Ordainers as to be truly and essentially Bishops, yet their Ordination, and Introduction, if valid, seems several ways uncanonical and unlawful.*

A. Bp. Br. "For the *Canons*, we maintain that our "form of Episcopal Ordination hath the same Eessen- "tials with the *Roman*, but in other things of infe- "rior allay it differeth from it. The Papal Canons "were never admitted for binding Laws in *England*, "farther then they were receiv'd by our selves, and "incorporated into our Laws; but our Ordination is "conformable to the Canons of the Catholic Church. "And for our Statutes, the Parliament hath answer'd "that Objection sufficiently, shewing clearly that the "Ordination of our first Protestant Bishops was *le- gal*; and for the *validity* of it, we crave no man's "favour ^a.

Pamph. *They came many of them into the places of others unjustly expell'd.*

A. Bp. Br. "This is saying, but we expect proving ^b.

Pamph. *Neither the major part nor any, save one, of the former incumbent Bishops consented to their Election or Ordination.*

Dr. Bur. "If Ordinations or Consecrations upon the "King's Mandate be invalid, which the Paper drives "at, then all the Ordinations of the Christian-Church "are also annul'd, since for many Ages they were all "made upon the Mandates of Emperors and Kings. "By which You may see the great weakness of this "Argument ^c.

Pamph. *No Metropolitan can be made without the con-*

^a Ibid. Tom. 1. Disc. 5. cap. 8. p. 471.
^b Ibid.

^c Dr. Burnet's Vindic. of our Ordin-
ations p. 99.

sent of the Patriarch, but Arch-Bishop Parker was ordain'd without and against the consent of the Patriarch.

A. Bp. Br. "The British Islands neither were, nor ought to be subject to the Jurisdiction of the Roman Patriarch, as I have sufficiently demonstrated."

Pamph. Neither did he receive any Spiritual Jurisdiction at all from any Ecclesiastical Superior, but merely that, which the Queen (a Lay-Person) by her Delegates in this Employment did undertake to conferr upon him.

Dr. Bur. "All Consecrations in this land are made by Bishops, by the power that is inherent in them; only the King gives orders for the Execution of that their power. Therefore all, that the Queen did in the case of Matthew Parker, and the Kings do since, was to command so many Bishops to exercise a power they had from Christ in such or such Instances."

Pamph. Which Delegates of hers were none of them at that time possess of any Diocese, Barlow and Scory being then only Bishops Elect of Chichester, and Hereford; and Coverdale, never after admitted or elected to any; and Hoskins a Suffragan.

A. Bp. Br. "The Office and Benefice of a Bishop are two distinct things; Ordination is an act of the Key of Order, and a Bishop unintron'd may ordain, as well as a Bishop inthron'd. The Ordination of Suffragan Bishops, who had no peculiar Bishopricks, was always reputed as good in the Catholic Church (if the Suffragan had Episcopal Ordination) as the Ordination of the greatest Bishops in the world."

Pamph. Nor had they had Dioceses, could have had

^a Bramhal's Works. Tom. I. Disc. 2.
cap. 9. p. 128.

^b Vindic. of Ord. p. 89.

^c Bramhal's Works. Tom. I. Disc. 5.
c. 5. p. 452.

any larger Jurisdiction save within these; at least, being single Bishops, could have no Metropolitical Jurisdiction, which yet they confer'd on Parker, not on their own sure, but on the Queen's Score.

Dr. Bur. "Does he believe himself, who says that "none can Install a Bishop in a Jurisdiction above himself? Pray then, who invests the Popes with their "Jurisdiction? Do not the Cardinals do it, and are not "they as much the Pope's Suffragans, [as *Hodgskins* was "Canterburie's?] so that if inferiors cannot invest one "in a Superior Jurisdiction, then the Popes can have "none legally, since they have their's from the Cardinals, that are inferior in Jurisdiction. There are "two things to be consider'd in the Consecration of a "Primate, the one is giving him the Order of a Bishop, the other is investing him with the Jurisdiction of a Metropolitan. For the former all Bishops "are equal in Order; none has more or less than another; so that the Consecrators of *Matthew Parker* "being Bishops by their Order, they had sufficient Authority to Consecrate him. As for the Jurisdiction "of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs, it has no "Divine Institution; it rose upon the division of Provinces, and the Kings of *Western* Churches did first "give those Preheminences to some Towns and "Sees".

Pamph. *But then might not She at pleasure take away, and strip Parker again of all that Jurisdiction, which he held only on her gift?*

A. Bp. Br. "We hold our Benefices by humane right, "our Offices of Priests and Bishops both by divine "right, and humane right. But put the case we did "hold our Bishopricks only by humane right, is it

"one of Your Cases of Conscience, that a Sovereign
 "Prince may justly take away from his Subjects any
 "thing, which they hold by humane right? If one
 "Man take from another that, which he holds justly
 "by the Law of Man, he is a thief and a robber by
 "the Law of God:

Pamph. *But the Autority of these Ordainers standing good, one or two Bishops is not a competent Number for Ordination.*

A. Bp. Br. "The Commission for their Consecration
 "limited the Consecrators to four, when the Canons of
 "the Catholic Church require but three. Three had
 "been enough to make a *valid* Ordination, yea, to make
 "a *Canonical* Ordination^b.

Pamph. *The Form of the Ordination of these new Bishops, as it was made in Edward the 6th's time, so it was revok'd by Synod in Queen Mary's days, and by no Synod afterwards restor'd before their Ordination.*

Dr. Burn. "It is a common place, and has been hand-
 "led by many Writers, how far the Civil Magistrate
 "may make Laws, and give commands about Sacred
 "things. The Prelates and the Divines by the Auto-
 "rity, they had from Christ, and the warrant they had
 "from Scripture, and the Primitive Church made the
 "Alterations and Changes in the Ordinal; and the
 "King and Parliament who are vested with the Su-
 "preme Legislative power added their Autority to
 "them to make them Obligatory on the Subject. Let
 "these Men declare upon their Consciences, if there
 "be any thing they desire more earnestly, than such
 "an Act for Authorizing their own Forms; and would

^a Bramhal's Works. Tom. I. Disc. 5. | ^b Ibid. Tom. I. Disc. 5. c. 5. p. 451.
 c. II. p. 489.

"they make any Scruple to accept of it, if they might
"have it?"

Pamph. But this Form was revok'd also by an *Act*
of Parliament in Queen Mary's days, and not by any
Act restor'd till long after the Ordination of Queen
Elizabeth's first Bishops. viz, in 8. Eliz. I. upon Bon-
ner's urging hereupon, that the Queen's were no Legal
Bishops.

Pamphlet, it self in the next Page. "The new Ordina-
"nal (when Arch-Bishop Parker was to be Consecrated
"by it) did not want sufficient Lay-license, having the
"Queen's, nor had the Parliament been defective in re-
"licensing it, for which see Bishop Bramhal.

Pamph. For such Considerations as these it seems it
was, that the Queen in her Mandate for the Ordina-
tion of her new Arch-Bishop Parker, was glad out of
her Spiritual Supremacy and Universal Jurisdiction, of
which Jurisdiction one *Act* is that of Ordaining to
dispense, and give them leave to dispense, to them-
selves, with all former Church-Laws, which should be
transgrest in the electing, and consecrating, and inve-
sting of this Bishop.

A Bp. Br. "There is a double power Ecclesiastical,
"of Order, and of Jurisdiction. Which two are so
"different the one from the other, as themselves
"both teach and practise, that there may be true Or-
"ders without Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and an actu-
"al Jurisdiction without Holy Orders. He leayes the
"Orders in the plain field, to busy himself about the
"power of Jurisdiction, which is nothing to the Que-
"stion. That which the Statute calls the *Autority* of
"Jurisdiction, is the coercive and compulsory power of
"summoning the King's Subjects by ProcesSES, which

"is indeed from the Crown. The Kings of *England*
 "neither have any power of the Keys, nor can derive
 "them to others; He need not fear our deriving our
 "Orders from them". As for the *Dispensative* clause,
 "it doth not extend at all to the Institution of Christ,
 "or any Essential of Ordination, nor to the Canons of
 "the Universal Church, but only to the Statutes, and
 "Ecclesiastical Laws of *England*. The Commissioners
 "authoriz'd by these Letters Patent to Confirm and
 "Consecrate Arch-Bishop *Parker*, did make use of
 "the *Supplentes* or Dispensative power, in the *Confir-*
mation of the Election, which is a Political Act (as
 "appears by the words of the Confirmation) but not
 "in the *Consecration*, which is a purely Spiritual Act,
 "and belongeth merely to the Key of Order^b.

Pamph. *Notwithstanding this Regal Dispensation*
a Statute was afterwards made [8. Eliz. 1.c.] to take
away all Scruple, Ambiguity, or doubt concerning these
Consecrations.

A. Bp. Br. "It was only a Declaration of the Par-
 "liament, that all the Objections, which these Men
 "made against our Ordinations were flanders and ca-
 "lumnies; and that all the Bishops which had been
 "ordain'd in the Queen's time had been rightly or-
 "daine'd according to the Form prescrib'd by the Church
 "of *England*, and the Laws of the Land. These Men
 "want no confidence, who are not ashame'd to cite this
 "Statute in this case^c.

I have transcrib'd the very words of the Authors,
 to shew the importunity of these Men, who are not
 ashame'd to transcribe not only the *matter*, but the
 very *form* of those Arguments, which have been so

* Tom. 4. Disc. 7. p. 1000. & Tom. 1. Disc. 5. c. 5. p. 453. & Ibid. p. 439.

often confuted. But there is, I confess, one thing new in this Chapter, which seems as if reserv'd for this Writer. He would prove that the Queen's dispensation relates not to her own Laws, but to the Laws of the Catholic Church. The words in the Commission are *Supplentes &c. Siquid desit, aut deerit eorum quæ per Statuta hujus regni aut per leges Ecclesiasticas requiruntur.* So that the Clause extends only to the Statutes and Ecclesiastical Laws of this Kingdom; as the Learned Primate understands it. But this Author with his wonted ingenuity omits the words, *per Statuta hujus Regni*, and then construes the *Leges Ecclesiasticas*, to be the Laws not of the English, but the Universal Church.

A Reply to Chapter the 13th.

A Reply to his former Chapters has made any Consideration of this needless. He supposes he has prov'd that the Reformation was not effected by the *major* part of the Clergy; and I may be allow'd to suppose, that he has not prov'd it. He has indeed affirm'd that it had not Synodical Authority under King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; and he had not ventur'd much farther, had he affirm'd, that there never were such Princes. In this Chapter he has found Six Protestant Divines who are of Opinion, that *Princes may in cases extraordinary Lawfully Reform without or against a major part of their Clergy.* He is very large in proving, that they have deliver'd this

Doctrine, but very sparing, when He comes to confirm it. We think it sufficiently justified from the single Instance of the good Kings of *Judah*; This is copiously, he saith, spoken unto in the *Sermon of the Clergy*, and so that Instance is contended. The Reference to his *avéodoù* is a new way of arguing, but perhaps not altogether irrational, since his Arguments are as likely to operate with Us whilst confin'd to his Desk, as if they were urg'd from the Pres. As long as the Sacred History of *Hezeckiah's* and *Josiah's* Reformation shall be preserv'd, this Prerogative of Godly Princes will need no other defence. The particulars of the Parallel have been so exactly drawn in a Discourse lately reprinted, that any farther attempt would be a Presumption. It may be enough to say that He who denies that the *major* part of the Guides of the Jewish Church err'd, must also denie Christ, since by such *Church-Autority* he was rejected. He, who will determine the Prince to judge allways with the majority of Church-Guides, obliges him in *Elijah's* time to establish *Baalism*; and at other times *Calve-worship*. He who can excuse the Kings of *Judah* for not consulting with those Priests, who were guilty of *Idolatry*, because they were *extra Ecclesiam*, and he had nothing to do with them, puts a new Plea into the mouth of the Reformers.

The latter part of the CONCLUSION has been particularly spoke to by the *Animadverter*; the former part depends altogether on the unpublish'd Tracts of *Church-Government*. He takes his farewell of the Reform'd Religion with this Observation, *That, tho' at the first (perhaps out of novelty) it made a wonder-*

[97]

full progreſſ and growth, yet of late it hath rather lost ground, and is grown decrepit and much abated of its former bulk and Stature. I leave the Author to confider, Whether this Argument be not borrow'd from the Jew. It is a surprizing instance, how intent our Adversaries are upon the Interest of a Faction, when they urge such Objections against the Reformation, as equally affect our common Christianity.

The Close.

THIS *Church-Governor* has now been examin'd through-out: Of the strength of his *Arguments*, and the Autority of his *History*, the Reader has by this time determin'd. Great things were discourt of this piece, whilst it threatned us from the Press; but it has seen the world, and our Church is not yet overturn'd. It is to be hop'd that those well-meaning Gentlemen, who hence expected such an increase of their Numbers, do not owe to this their own Conversion. I cannot tell with what degree of Esteem others may entertain this Relation; I who have read it through (a piece of diligence which few can boast of) must confess to have discover'd nothing so eminent in the Writer, as an undaunted Courage, and presence of Mind. For there is not the least distrust signified, where the Fictions are most bold and open; the grossest falsehoods being deliver'd with all the security and evidence of Truth. Indeed the main Artifice of

these forgeries consists in the extravagant boldness of them; for it is not easy for an unexperienc'd Reader to think so foul practices consistent with so much unconcernedness; and nothing but a Conversation with some Authors could excuse such a Suspicion from being uncharitable. One, who finds Autorities vouch'd for that, of which they prove the direct contrary; passages distinctly cited, which never were extant; matters of fact barely denyed, which all History assures Us of; is rather apt to mistrust his own Understanding, than to pass so severe a Judgment, as such dealings deserve; But how incredible soever these practices appear in the *Theory*, yet the Reader may, if he please, satisfy himself that they are not wrongfully charg'd: Nor indeed would I hope that He should believe them from me, without consulting my *Authority*. I was my self willing at first to think *Him* little conversant in our *Ecclesiastical Historians*; but a narrower perusal inform'd me, that his peculiar excellence lay in an intimate acquaintance with those Writers. He seems to have studied them on purpose to prepare matter of caus', and to have examin'd every passage with the prejudices of an *adversary*, and the insidious diligence of a Spy. I would still perswade my self, that these Papers are of so Ancient a date, that the Composer never had Opportunity to consult the latest Account of our Reformation. The exactness of that History would have oblig'd him to a stricter care in his Relation; that large Collection of Authentic Records would have requir'd from him a better proof of his Assertions; and the *Appendix* must have satisfied him of the Character of that famous Writer, on whose Authority he so muc'

pends. The possibility of his not having seen these would incline me to a more favourable Opinion of some particulars : but I consider that the more one is willing to Apologize for the *Author*, the less he is able to excuse the *Publisher*.

F I N I S.
